

**From Third to Fourth:
A Report on the Activities
of the YCI**

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**FROM THIRD
TO
FOURTH**

A Report on the
Activities of the Y. C. I. Since Its
Third World Congress

*Published by the Executive Committee of the Young
Communist International, May 1924.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Introduction	Page 3
The Tasks Set our Leagues by the Third World Congress	8
The Main Results of the Activity of the Y. C. I. Since its Third Congress	14
The Activity for the Established of Shop Nuclei and the Reorganization of the Leagues on Their Basis	22
The Political Activity of the Y. C. I. and its Sections ...	27
The Organizational Development of the Y. C. I. Since its Third World Congress	37
The Educational Work Since the Third World Congress of the Y. C. I.	45
Struggle and Work of the Y. C. I. Against Bourgeois Militarism and the Danger of War	50
The Economic Trade Union Work of the Y. C. I.	57
The Other Fields of Work	69

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Introduction.

THE Young Communist International is preparing itself for its Fourth World Congress. The main feature of the period which will terminate with this Congress is that the retreat of the international working class has come to a stop and it is now energetically making a stand against the advancing powers of capital which have robbed it and still intend to rob it of important political and economic acquisitions. 1923 and the few months of 1924 already passed have been characterised by an uninterrupted crisis in capitalist society. The occupation of the Ruhr, the sharpening of the Reparations crisis and of the internal and external political situation of Germany resulting from it, the advance of reaction in Bulgaria and the September revolt of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the gigantic struggles of the German working class in the autumn of last year, the establishment of the white dictatorship in Germany by the reaction with the support of the social democracy, the great strike wave in Poland, the overthrow of the bourgeois government in Great Britain and the establishment of the so-called Labour Government by the British Labour Party, the great struggles in Germany in the last few months, in short, the uninterrupted surging of the struggles between the international working class and the international bourgeoisie shows that the decline in the revolutionary development which was apparent in 1921 and 1922 has been replaced by a continuous upward development of the revolutionary movement. A new wave of the world revolution is flooding through the supports of capitalist society and shaking its fundamental basis and it will, if the Communist International is at its post, free a further part of the world from the rule of capitalism in the near future.

In the course of this development the communist movement has received a growing sympathy and strengthening

from the ranks of the working class in its struggles. The International proletariat step by step perfects the weapon with which it must ultimately and victoriously conclude its struggle with the bourgeoisie — the strong Communist Party. The whole Communist International has recorded an uninterrupted growth, not only externally and numerically, but also internally in all its sections. The individual sections of the Communist International have strengthened and consolidated themselves in their continuous struggles at the head of the working class, and in their persistent struggle for clarity upon the tactics to be adopted in the various situations. The development of the Parties into true Communist Leninist Parties has advanced a further step. This has not been achieved easily. Many new groupments of forces and many expulsions were necessary for its accomplishment. It was in the struggle for the correct communist tactic that a great part of the Norwegian Workers Party left the ranks of the Communist International and stood for the views of the social democracy. In Bulgaria also, obvious reformers have been expelled who feared the struggle against the white dictatorship and betrayed the workers in this struggle. In many of the other countries no such bitter courses became necessary, although even there the necessity for an intensified struggle demanded various regroupments within the Parties. The social democrats do not fail to point to these happenings as the beginning of the end of the Communist International. They have made a mistake, however, just as they make mistakes in everything that concerns the struggle of the working class, its future, its prospects and its ultimate victory. The great victories of the communists in the elections in Germany, France, Bulgaria and Italy, where we succeeded in winning hundreds of thousands and millions of votes despite the most brutal white terror, despite the united militant front of the furiously fighting social democrats and reactionaries, prove that the social democrats are wrong. Without over-estimating these successes we can say that the communist movement is a power in Europe to-day. It has gathered around itself masses of the bravest, and even often of the majority of the workers. Whilst the social democratic movement is becoming more and more a shadow without substance, the spectre of com-

munism is fast gaining flesh and blood and is to-day the soul of the fighting proletariat.

Within this movement the Young Communist International has lived and fought. Under these conditions it has prepared its road to the millions of the young workers and peasants. With serious consideration of the lessons and tasks which the Third Congress had given, the hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants commenced the great work of building up the mass organization of the working class and peasant youth which we must become in order to provide the necessary reserve troops in the struggle of the working class. Faithful to its conception that an organization is not created in the study, nor in the laboratory far away, from real life, but that it must be built up in the centre of the life and struggle of the world proletariat, the Young Communist International has taken a foremost part in all of the struggles of the working class previously mentioned and has mobilised the masses of the working class youth for them. Even more, it has carried its principles into practice and has fulfilled its tasks in these struggles.

In the recent period the development of the Young Communist International has gone uninterruptedly upward. Whilst it has succeeded in breaking the power of the Socialist International of Youth over the young workers, which had succeeded in consolidating itself in the period between the Second and Third Congresses, the Young Communist International becomes more and more the mass organization of the working class and peasant youth of the world, both in numerical strength and in numbers and methods of work. Even in those places where no definite successes in this direction could be recorded at least our Leagues have kept their course headed straight toward this aim.

Considering the present stage of the movement, examining calmly and without over-estimation our present situation, we come to a hopeful and gratifying result. The Young Communist International has begun the work of transferring its basis to the shops. It has learned to fight for the daily cultural and material needs of the young workers and peasants in order to win them for the struggle under the red banner of communism. It has taken up the struggle against the continuously threatening danger of war with determina-

tion and has carried on a persistent and tenacious work within the ranks of the bourgeois armies and navies which has demanded many victims, in order to win the young workers for the cause of the proletariat. During the Ruhr occupation it has fought French imperialism tooth and nail. In October 1923 it mobilised the German young workers and those of the whole world for the German revolution, gaining in this connection important experiences for the activities of the Young Communist Leagues during the struggle for power. In September 1923 it led the young workers and peasants of Bulgaria under the banner of the struggle against fascism and reaction. It has made innumerable sacrifices in these struggles. The international bourgeoisie with its representatives Zankov, Ebert, Mussolini, Poincaré etc. have attacked our brave comrades in the various countries with fury. In Bulgaria, Germany, France, Poland, Esthonia, Norway, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and other states we have lost many of our best comrades in the past period by death or heavy sentences of imprisonment. The Young Communist International and the young workers and peasants fighting under its banner have not allowed these losses to hinder or prevent them from conducting the struggle, and will continue with the struggle in the future despite the furious persecutions. The struggle is going on, the daily work is going on. Both the struggle and the daily petty work will be the subject of thorough discussion at the forthcoming congress. We will show to our enemies the bourgeoisie and the social democrats that we laugh at their endeavors, and that there shall be no peace between us until they are definitely defeated.

In November 1924 the Young Communist International will have worked as an organization for five years. In September 1924 the masses of the working class and peasants will for the tenth time celebrate the International Day of Youth. Both of these two occasions will mark important periods of our development. Both will witness the continuation of the development that was started with the Third Congress, for the period of upward development in which we find ourselves to-day has not yet come to an end, rather it has only passed thru its first beginnings. The period marked by the increasing power of resistance on the part of the working

class against the attacks of the bourgeoisie is not yet ended. We can already see before us the first lightning flashes of the coming great storm, of the most serious and decisive struggles of the future. The Young Communist International will therefore not rest satisfied with the successes already achieved, but it will unite all its forces and consolidate them even more than in the past in order to solve the tasks set by the Third Congress which the Fourth Congress will have to supplement and define more concretely. Our pride at the work accomplished in the last months does not blind us to the great tasks ahead of us which we must carry out if we wish to become the Army of the Millions of the Young Workers and Peasants of all Countries.

In the following booklet we report upon the situation and the activity of the Young Communist International since its Third Congress. It is the purpose of this report to give to the delegates to the Congress and to the officials of the Leagues a picture of the present situation and thus a possibility of judging whether or not the movement has fulfilled the tasks set by the Third World Congress. At the same time the booklet is intended to facilitate the discussion of the tasks at the Fourth World Congress. We believe that it shows us that our tasks in the future in every respect will be a continuation of the road on which we have begun, armed with the instructive experiences of the past sixteen months and with even more energy and devotion. To define this task in detail will be the essential duty of the Fourth World Congress of the Young Communist International which is due to take place in the next weeks.

The E. C. of the Y. C. I.

Moscow, May 21st, 1924.

The Tasks Set our Leagues by the Third World Congress.

I.

WE are at the end of an eighteen months' period of work. It will be the task of our Fourth World Congress to examine whether this time has proved the necessity and correctness of the decisions of the Third World Congress or not and whether the tasks set up by these decisions have been fulfilled.

What were these tasks? The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International set the tasks for the Communist International on the basis of the estimation of the international economic situation as the Third World Congress had presented it in the theses of Comrades Trotsky and Varga. Basing itself upon the slogan given at that time, "To the Masses!" it gave a concrete outline of the tactics of the Communist International (united front, workers' government, struggle against the offensive of capital). Further, it treated the objective factors (the political and economic situation, the spirit of the masses) and the subjective factors (the Communist Party, etc.) of the revolution on the basis of the Russian Revolution. And further, the problem of the retreat (the New Economic Policy) and finally the perspectives of the world revolution.

Our Third World Congress adopted the political basis of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International and discussed the problems of our movement upon the correct political platform thus supplied.

In the time between our Second and Third World Congresses, in which our movement returned to its actual youth activity after the long war and post-war periods, developing in this connection a new type of communist youth work, the necessity developed of giving a concrete character to the slogan issued by our Second World Congress when dealing with the individual tasks — "To the Masses!" to prepare the organizational road to the masses and to elaborate more ex-

tensively, completely and precisely the principles and methods of a young communist mass organization. This necessity had shown itself both in the positive and negative results of the realization of the decisions of the Second World Congress and even where our comrades had not immediately found the road to practice. Positively, the correctness of all the decisions of the Second World Congress, the necessity for a political mass educational work, the significance of the trade union-economic struggle, the great effect of the communist work in the bourgeois armies, in the country and amongst the children, had been proved, and negatively, the impossibility of carrying out these tasks effectively with the old social democratic forms of organization and the impossibility of transforming the Young Communist Leagues into communist mass organizations within these old organizational limits had been clearly demonstrated. At the same time there had developed in the various Leagues an incorrect and exaggerated conception of the decision for the political subordination of the Leagues to the Parties, and the exaggeration of this political subordination, together with the general political indifference within the ranks of the proletarian youth, had a very damaging effect on the political work of the Young Communist Leagues.

Upon the basis of the results and experiences of the period between the Second and the Third World Congresses the latter formulated the main tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in about the following manner: —

The development of the Young Communist Leagues into mass organizations of the working class youth in their social composition, their organizational form, in the contents and methods of their work.

In the center there was naturally the solution of the fundamental problem — the creation of an organizational form to make the development of this new type of proletarian youth movement possible. After long and thorough discussion the congress found this solution by setting the Leagues the task of combining their members in shop nuclei and thus making for themselves a road to the youth in the large-scale industry. Further nuclei were of course to be formed by systematic and persistent work, above all in the heavy industry.

The discussion of this question revealed a very considerable ideological resistance. This was caused chiefly by the twenty year tradition of the proletarian youth movement in Europe which had created a quite definite type of proletarian youth movement which could not easily be ideologically overcome. A lesser very natural but also very serious cause of this resistance were the actually existing objective difficulties, for instance the fact that the place of living of the workers is often very far distant from their place of work and that it is very difficult, owing to special traffic conditions, for young workers to participate in the life and work of the shop nucleus, etc. A third cause of this resistance was the unfavorable social composition of the League. It became evident that the decisive stratum of the young proletariat, i. e. the young workers of large-scale industry, formed only a small part of the rank and file of our Leagues and that we had influence only in very few big shops, whilst an overwhelming part of the membership was composed of young workers from middle-sized and small shops, offices, etc. The congress thoroughly examined all these objective hindrances and nevertheless decided to reorganize the Leagues upon the basis of the shop nuclei.

With the solution of this question, the Congress created the preliminary condition for a change in the social composition of our Leagues in accordance with the necessity of a mass organization of the working class youth. Such a change can only be brought about in our movement by the creation of shop nuclei mainly in the shops of large-scale industry, and by the active work of these shop nuclei with the methods of a communist mass organization.

The principles and methods of the work of our Leagues as young communist mass organizations were completed and made concrete by the Congress mainly on three fields: —

First of all with regard to the problem of political activity. We have already pointed out above, that the decisions of the Second World Congress on the relations between the Leagues and the Parties which established the political subordination of the former to the latter were misunderstood in some places, and particularly in Central Europe, and that their application was exaggerated and led here and there to a very harmful decrease of the political work of the Leagues.

These exaggerations were of course definitely rejected by the Congress. The Congress placed the problem of political activity in the center of attention by emphasizing it in the treatment of all important points on its agenda. It stressed the fact that despite its political subordination to the leadership of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League remains a political organization whose political activity is the basis and the method of the whole League work and gives it its character. The congress emphasized the necessity for the more active participation of the League and their members in all the problems of the Party life, in all the struggles of the Party and the working class. It stressed further that the whole League activity, were it educational and training work, or the economic-trade union struggle, the work in the country or that in the children's groups, were it the work inside or outside the organization, it should have a political character and purpose. The political activity in short must permeate the whole League work and make it a power in the service of the working class and its struggle for liberation.

Even more must we stress this necessity today, even although we can state in many of the Leagues a considerable progress in this direction. But also, we have recently found in various important Leagues limited and insufficiently uniform political developments of the total work of these Leagues. Although we must for this reason once again stress this problem at the Fourth World Congress, we can generally point to the directions given by the Third World Congress, as these directions remain correct now as before.

The Second problem which was particularly emphasized by the Third World Congress was the carrying out of the economic-trade union work of the Young Communist Leagues. The Congress stated particularly in treating this problem the necessity of proceeding from a mere propaganda to a practical and active participation of the Young Communist Leagues in all the problems of the life and the material situation of the working class youth, and a real and active representation by the Leagues, of the interests of the young proletariat against the brutal offensive of capital as the highest law for the future period. Furthermore, by giving, after a thoro analysis of the true situation of the work-

ing class youth, a description of the intolerable lowering of the material conditions of the young workers, and by stating, on the basis of the results of the proposal for joint struggle to the "Socialist" Youth Internationals, their dependence upon the treacherous Amsterdam trade union International, and thus showing its incontestably criminal share in the responsibility for the indescribable deterioration of the situation of the young proletariat, the Congress appealed at the same time to the young workers for a determined struggle against the offensive of capital, a program of partial demands for this struggle. At the same time the Congress won for itself and the working class youth the active assistance of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions in this struggle. For an isolated struggle of the young proletariat is usually impossible. A united front between young and adult workers is an important condition and at the same time a political necessity for this struggle. This demands an intensive work within the trade unions, the Red as well as the reformist. There exists to-day a deep abyss between the young and adult workers, mainly due to the traditions and tendencies of capitalism. For this work also the Congress took the initiative and gave the exact directions.

The treatment of the problem of the economic-trade union work was made especially significant by the resolution on the economic demands of the program of the Young Communist International. By formulating clearly and exactly in this resolution the aim of the Young Communist International to the masses of the working class youth of all countries, "the socialist reorganization of youth labor, thus the abolition of wage work for all young workers up to 18 years and their socialist social provision from the point of view of education" the Young Communist International for the first time defined the final aim regarding the position of the working class youth in production. Even the program of the Stuttgart International Youth Congress in 1907 was in its fundamental character a reform program which, although a great number of partial demands still hold good, did not contain a great number of important demands, i. e. vacations, the shortening of working hours for certain ages, etc. The Moscow program for the reorganization of Youth Labor

is the revolutionary program of the working class youth for its economic struggles, and forms together with the already mentioned program of partial demands, which imperatively rejects child labor and formulates a number of important material, hygienic and educational demands for the young workers under 18 years of age without consideration to the ability or the good will of capitalism to grant these demands, the international militant program of the working class youth of the whole world.

The third problem which was thoroly discussed by the congress was the next tasks in the struggle against militarism. Basing itself upon the decisions of the Second World Congress, it opposed the clear and Leninist slogans, — "Struggle against petty bourgeois pacifism!", "Disarmament of the bourgeoisie", "Decomposition of its army or the capture of it for the cause of the proletariat", "Transformation of imperialist war into civil war" to the pacifist phrases of the social patriots about disarmament, arbitration courts and to their oath to answer every outbreak of war with the general strike. The first condition is the struggle against the illusions developed by the reformists that the social democrats are ready to take up the struggle against the outbreak of war by a general strike. In the mouths of these servants of capital even the slogan of the general strike is nothing but a deception of the international working class in favor of their own bourgeoisie and the "hostile bourgeoisie". At the same time we must fight the illusion that the working class in general would be in a position to end a war that was already proceeding by the proclamation of a general strike. Lenin has expressed this very clearly in his recently published "Thesis on the Hague Conference". Our Third World Congress formulated it in the following manner: Either the strike transforms itself into a true armed struggle, leading the proletariat to triumph and the conquest of power, or it leads to the most serious and immediate defeat of the proletariat.

The discussions on this problem which resulted in a great number of practical directions for the work in the bourgeois armies and in which a number of concrete slogans for this task were formulated, were of great significance on account of the acute world political situation existing at the time. They not only created the methods and the basis of our League

work, with a character of communist mass work, but the Young Communist International laid in them the basis for the splendid communist anti-militarist work in the occupied territory of Germany during the Ruhr occupation which started only a few weeks later. By treating these three most important problems and by giving the direction for the transformation of the old form of organization, our Third Congress gave a concrete form to the most essential features of the main task, i. e. the transformation of the Young Communist League into communist mass organizations and leaders of the working class youth. The Congress supplemented its work of crystallizing the role, the task and the methods of a young communist mass organization by adopting the presented draft of the program of the Young Communist International.

Mentioning further, the struggle against the socialist opponents, the sport problem, the work amongst the children and the Oriental department, all of which problems were discussed in the same manner as the above mentioned main problems, we have given a survey of the tasks that our Third World Congress set the Young Communist Leagues. Let us now examine whether these tasks were necessary and correct and whether they have been fulfilled by our Leagues.

The Main Result of the Activity of the Young Communist International Since its Third Congress.

WHAT are the results of the activity of the Young Communist International and its sections in these one and a half years, so full of important events? Surveying the total development since December 1922, we come in general to two main conclusions:

1) The decisions of the Third Congress have proved correct in practice and have provided the possibilities for the development of the Young Communist Leagues into mass organizations.

2) The time from the Third to the Fourth Congress was a period of permanent and safe upward development of the Young Communist International in general and of its most important sections in particular.

To these two statements we can immediately third add one: —

This upward development is not temporary, but firmly founded on the activity of the Young Communist International in the spirit of the decisions of its Second and Third Congresses and is by no means ended, but will still continue, provided that the Young Communist International and its sections keep firmly and without vacillation to the policy of the Second and Third Congresses.

While making these fundamental statements, we are far from seeing everything too optimistically and from overlooking the great and sometimes even serious gaps and deficiencies that exist in the activity of the Young Communist International since the Third Congress and in its present situation. We hold on the contrary, that it is the most serious and important duty of the whole Young Communist International and of the Fourth Congress to consider very thoroly these mistakes and deficiencies. We have not yet become mass organizations of the working class youth (with the exception of the fact that the German League has already shown in some problems and moments the features of a mass organization). We stress very definitely the condition upon which our further upward development depends, we emphasize that this upward development will very soon become a stagnation, that there will even develop a serious crisis in the Young Communist International if we do not continue much more energetically and better than in the past, the policy of the Third Congress. We must be quite conscious of this fact which makes the continuation of the policy of the Second and the Third Congress the main task of the forthcoming Fourth Congress.

Thus the first and most important result of the development since the Third Congress is the fact that the Young Communist International has stepped onward on the road of mass organization and has made considerable progress. The main cause of this progress is the activity for the shop nuclei and the reorganization of the Leagues on this basis. The Young Communist International has repeatedly warned the Leagues — and has itself remained quite free from this mistake — not to consider the shop nuclei organization and the reorganization of the Leagues as a purely organizational problem. The problem is of an extremely high and extensive political

character. It is today and for the visible future the concrete answer to the most important questions in connection with the great task of the conquest of the masses and of the development of the Young Communist Leagues into mass organizations. Reorganization on the basis of the shop nuclei in the spirit of the Third Congress means the complete transformation of the whole League activity in the sense of mass work, the transferring of the center of the work into the shops and among the masses themselves, a change, in the social composition of the membership by the creation of an industrial and proletarian majority, the transformation of the Young Communist Leagues from propaganda into fighting organizations. Only if we consider the shop nuclei organization in this spirit, the spirit of the Third Congress, will we be able to understand how this work, despite the great deficiencies, which it still shows in the Leagues, despite the fact that only beginnings have been made, has already led to such important successes. It is a decisive proof for the necessity of the reorganization that already the first steps in the reorganizational work of the Leagues have brought about very significant changes and progress.

But, as already mentioned, this work is still in its beginnings. This is the greatest and most serious gap in the activity of the Young Communist International. We have made progress on this field, but not yet achieved what we ought to have achieved and what we could have achieved. Actually we have only three Leagues (The German, Checho-Slovakian and French Leagues) which have reached the first stage in the formation of shop nuclei while all the other Leagues stand quite in the background. Particularly the task of the actual reorganization, of the reconstruction of the Leagues on the basis of the shop nuclei and the place of work everywhere still stands before us.

The activity of the Leagues has become profounder and has acquired everywhere a mass character. This becomes evident on all fields, particularly on that of the political activity, in the economic struggle, the anti-militarist work and press.

The influence on the masses of the working class youth outside our organizations is clearly visible and has considerably increased during the recent period.

The number of members of the Young Communist Leagues has therefore increased in all important countries. Very considerable and gratifying is the growth of membership in Russia, Germany, France, Checho-Slovakia, Great Britain, America, Norway, thus in the most important countries.

As our work in these countries takes ever more a mass character and as we have made serious progress in a number of countries on the road towards becoming mass organizations, several new problems of the practical work have arisen and old problems have been shown in a new light. Thus important questions of the economic-trade union work have to be treated. The more the Young Communist Leagues progress on the road towards becoming mass organizations and the greater the influence of the communists in the trade unions becomes and the more it becomes necessary that the Young Communist Leagues leave the methods of mere propaganda by the spoken word and by the press and begin actually to represent the interest of the working class youth in the daily struggle and in the daily work within the trade unions and against the capitalists, the more the Young Communist Leagues are confronted with the task of co-operating with the red trade unions and the red trade unionists as the daily practical representative of the problems and demands of the working class youth. The forms of this daily practical work in the trade unions and shops, of the co-operation with the trade unions and of the real active participation in all struggles of the working class have not yet been laid down sufficiently concretely and thoroughly. Therefore the old ideas of the intermediary organizations have arisen in the Leagues in a new refined "tactical" form. Thus the Young Communist League of France wanted to propose for tactical reasons of the struggle against the syndicalist youth the formation of youth sections within the French trade unions. And we also find suggestions for trade unions youth representatives in Austria, and similar mistakes in the shop nuclei work in some countries where the shop nuclei have not been considered clearly enough as the organization of the Young Communist League but rather as the general organization of the working class youth of the respective shops.

Further, we are today more and more confronted with the task, which is quite new to the Leagues with the exception of

the Russian, to define the permanent activity of a shop nucleus, and of an organization which is built up on shop nuclei.

Furthermore the revolutionary struggles in Germany have confronted us with the great and significant problem of concretely defining the tasks and the activity of the Young Communist League in a great country in the immediate struggle of the proletariat for power and after the conquest of power. The tasks of a League during the struggle for power have been this time defined in co-operation with the communist International for the German League, and also in the future the Young Communist International must devote great attention to this problem.

As the second important result of the work since the Third Congress we can state that the political activity of the League has been considerably increased and improved. This question is treated in a separate section of this book. We wish to mention here the most important points. The participation in the Party life has everywhere become closer and more intense. The Young Communist Leagues have proved to be everywhere the pioneers and vanguard of the policy of the Communist International, particularly against the opportunistic tendencies and digressions of the Right. Of special importance and success was the long and energetic fight of the Young Communist International in Scandinavia, further in Bulgaria, Germany, France, Russia. In Russia the participation of the League in the Party has been increased and the League has worked in the Party for the correct policy. The adaptation of the work of the Young Communist Leagues to the problems and the struggles of the working class has also improved considerably. This became particularly evident in the Ruhr and in the occupied territory where the Young Communist International as a whole and the Young Communist Leagues of France and Germany have carried on an extremely good work, further in the revolutionary struggles in Germany and Bulgaria, in the successful application of the tactics of the united front, the improved anti-militarist activity, etc. This close adaptation to the problems and the fights of the working class and the concrete combination of these problems and struggles with the activity and the struggle of our Leagues must nevertheless still be improved and in-

tensified. The political activity should not be considered as a part of our League work, but it must permeate all League work and form its basis.

We have already mentioned that the anti-militaristic activity has made great progress. We stress in this connection that this work was limited only to certain parts of the Young Communist International, namely to France, occupied Germany, partly in Italy and in the last few months partly in Scandinavia, and we must emphasize that we consider the fact that not all Leagues have carried on anti-militarist work as a serious gap in our work which we must fill in with all energy. Nevertheless that work which has been achieved was the most important of the last epoch, and the great progress consisted in the fact that the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues have for the first time proceeded from the mere propaganda against militarism among the masses of the working class and peasant youth to a really extensive and practical organizational and permanent anti-militarist work among the recruits of the army themselves. This progress is the more significant if we consider that it was carried through under particularly difficult conditions and with particularly many victims, namely mainly among the occupation army in a foreign country. Where the social democracy and the social democratic youth organizations have completely failed and where even the Communist Party made very awkward steps, the Young Communist International has completely fulfilled its duty towards the working class.

A further important result was obtained in the camp of our opponents. While we can state that the period since our Third Congress was a period of upward development for the Young Communist International, it is to-day quite obvious that our Bureau Session was right when it said that the opposite development goes on in the young social democratic movement. This was specially accelerated by the Ruhr occupation as this event brought about an extreme intensification of the critical conditions in Germany and exposed in general the treasons and the bankruptcy of the social democratic youth movement. Even the amalgamation in Hamburg could not do away with this fact, but even increased the decomposition of this movement. The definite and systematic applica-

tion of the united front tactics which the Young Communist International carried through nationally and internationally, has greatly promoted the exposure of the true character of the social democratic youth movement and accelerated the process of decomposition within its ranks. The influence of the social democratic youth movement on the outside youth masses is continuously decreasing. In its own ranks there developed on the Right a fascist wing and on the left a tendency to join the young communist movement. However, all these facts should not induce us to underestimate the social democratic youth movement. It is still rather strong in Sweden, Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and must be considered our serious opponent. We have furthermore received new and dangerous opponents, the nationlists and the fascists who more and more strive to form organizations among the working class and peasant youth. A serious struggle against these and against all bourgeois youth organizations is necessary.

Among the most important results of the development of the Young Communist International in the past one and a half years is the fact that the Young Communist International since its Third Congress has made great strides onward in Western Europe and the countries outside Europe. It is of the greatest historic significance that we have finally succeeded in establishing really strong and proletarian Young Communist Leagues in Great Britain and America, which are developing well. It is furthermore significant that the Young Communist League of France has passed thru a very good development since the Third Congress, and that also the Young Communist League of Italy has made good progress in the course of the last year. In Scandinavia a true revolution within the young communist movement is going on before our eyes, for after the split of the Norwegian Workers Party and after the formation of the Communist Party of Norway, the Young Communist League entered a new period and started a radical rejuvenation of its membership and of its methods of work. The same is at present being prepared in Sweden. The movement in America is extending more and more. New Young Communist Leagues have been formed since the Third Congress in Canada, Chili and Bolivia. The Young Communist League of Uruguay and Argentine are

consolidating. Also in the Far East we are making progress. The Young Communist Leagues of Japan, China and Mongolia, and the Young Communist League of South Africa are developing very favorably.

When considering the results of the work of the Young Communist International since the Third Congress, we must mention the fact that the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues have learned how to work illegally and at the same time how to carry on an activity among the masses. Significant examples for such work are the German and the Italian Leagues. The first League lost only 35 to 40 % of its membership thru illegality after the October defeat and the furious persecutions of the bourgeoisie. The Young Communist League of Italy has even under the rule of Fascism regained the strength that it had before the Fascist government came to power. We have overcome the worst in this respect, but still there remains much to be done and to be learnt.

We have already mentioned above that the main lacks and deficiencies of our work must be considered as follows: —

The shop nuclei work is still in its beginnings, and nowhere the reorganization has been practically started.

Political activity still permeates all parts of our League work too little, i. e. the various fields of work are not yet sufficiently combined with the immediate problems and struggles of the working class.

The anti-militarist work has been limited to certain sections of the Young Communist International and has been neglected in the other sections.

We must add a further great deficiency: The economic-trade union work and the struggle against the offensive of capital were very much neglected. The Young Communist League of France has done very good work in this respect, but with this one exception and partly also with the exception of Germany, little, far too little was done, and the other tasks have pushed this work into the background. There must under all circumstance be a change in this respect.

The educational work is everywhere still in its beginnings on account of the lack of forces and overwork. The Fourth Congress must open a period of serious and powerful work in this field.

The Fourth Congress will certainly have as its basis the directions of the Third Congress. It will be confronted with the task of supplementing them in connection with the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, and of giving directions for their practical application.

The Activity for the Established of Shop Nuclei and the Reorganization of the Leagues on Their Basis.

I.

SHORTLY summarized, the decisions of the Third Congress demanded:

- a) The creation of Young Communist League nuclei in all workshops.
- b) The transference of the center of the League activity into the shop nuclei.
- c) The reorganization of the League from its former basis of the place of living, to the place of working, and on the basis of the shop nuclei.

Generally speaking, this means also a change in the social composition of the membership by the increase and the strengthening of the proletarian and industrial nucleus (majority) of the League, the establishment of a close and inseparable contact with the masses, the transformation of the League work into mass work, the extension and intensification of our influence upon the masses of the working class youth, and, lastly, the growth of our organization.

Before it was possible to proceed to the practical realization of these decisions, it was necessary to overcome the confusions and the resistance existing amongst the masses of the rank and file, and amongst the most active League workers, and to create everywhere full clarity and understanding of the necessity of these decisions. This was a difficult task, for not only the old traditions handicapped the work, it was also necessary to show the incorrectness of the many objections and fears, and to explain the true reasons for them.

Thus, first of all we witnessed in the Young Communist

International on an international as well as on a national scale, a comparatively long period during which these decisions were popularized, and it is to be said that this period has only been completed of late in many Leagues and that even in a number it is not yet overcome.

This period was the shortest in *Germany*. It is an extremely good sign for the stage of development of the German League, that, despite the fear of a part of its delegation to the Third Congress, it responded with prompt approval and even enthusiasm to these international nuclei decisions. The congress of the League held in Chemnitz in March 1923 clearly expressed this attitude. The whole character of this congress was governed by the decisions of the Third World Congress, and it can be considered as a turning point in the development of the League.

The German League was followed by the *French*. We regard this as a proof of the progress of our Young Communist League of France as compared with the other Leagues. Its congress held in Lyons in May decided upon practical measures for the realization of the shop nuclei decisions which were welcomed with joy in the League.

In January 1923 the National Executive Committee of the *Italian* League decided to commence the work of reorganizing the League upon the basis of shop nuclei. But, on account of the resistance of the Party and of the general confusion existing upon this problem within the League itself, the work failed. Only in August last was the conference of the League able to issue practical decisions upon the nuclei work which received the general approval of the League. On account of the repeated weakening of the League thru arrests, the practical work was not commenced until the spring of the present year.

The *Austrian* League adopted the international decisions on shop nuclei with resistance in April 1923. These decisions actually remained on paper till the spring of the present year.

The *British* League adopted the decisions with satisfaction and passed its own nuclei decisions at its League Council Session in May of this year.

The *American* League received the nuclei decisions with enthusiasm and passed the necessary national decisions in

the same month. The New York organization alone was in opposition to the shop nuclei decisions.

The *Checho-Slovakian* comrades adopted the decisions of the world congress on the shop nuclei problem at their national congress at Easter 1923. Naturally a considerable time passed before the decisions could be carried into practice. The decisive beginning in this respect was made by the League conference in November 1923 which passed decisions on the practical realization of the international decisions for *Checho-Slovakia*. Since that time this work has progressed considerably.

The Norwegian League passed its nuclei decisions at its Congress in March on account of the situation in the Party, however, they were not popularized in the League until after the Party split. The League received the decisions with lively approval.

The work was more difficult in the *Swedish* League, which also was handicapped in its work by the Party situation. The international decisions were adopted at the League congress in June, but only in the following winter did they gradually begin to have an effect on the League.

In the *Balkans* the period necessary for the popularization of the nuclei decisions was particularly long. Decisive steps in this respect were only taken at the Balkan Conference in Vienna in January of this year.

Thus we see that the Work was comparatively long and difficult. To-day, however, we can and must consider this period as ended. Those Leagues which have not yet come thru this period and which have not yet begun their practical work must receive definite instructions from the world congress in this respect.

II.

In surveying the present stage of the shop nuclei work, we wish first to report on the most advanced Leagues, i. e. those which are already reorganized on the basis of the shop nuclei or are at least actively reorganizing themselves upon the new basis. We must say, however, that up to the present, (with the exception of the Russian and the Estonian Leagues which were always built up upon shop nuclei), no such League exists. This is a very significant fact which we must

bear in mind. Before the illegality the German League carried thru the reorganization in some localities, and tried to carry it thru everywhere during the period of illegality. This attempt, however, failed.

The next stage has been reached by these Leagues which although not yet reorganized, have yet so many shop nuclei and do so much work in them, that the center of the League activity has already to a great degree been transferred into the shop nuclei. We have one League which is working in this stage — the German League — and there are two other Leagues which stand at the beginning of this stage, — the French and the *Checho-Slovakian* Leagues.

Before the period of illegality, the German League had about 400 nuclei and over 20 per cent of its membership was organized in these nuclei. The *Checho-Slovakian* League has over 100 nuclei, and the French League about 70.

The other Leagues are still in the beginning of the practical work, and have formed nuclei ranging in number from ten to at the highest 20, and their work is still immature. Such Leagues are the British, American, Italian, Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish.

The remaining Leagues have, up to the present, not yet done any practical work, or have only just begun it.

This, then, is the picture that results from the present survey. There has been a general forward step, a serious progress in the main countries, which, however, is not yet large enough, and in the remaining countries there is great backwardness.

Through the activity of the Young Communist International important progress has been made in the Parties. At the Fourth Congress the Communist Parties regarded the reorganization upon the shop nuclei basis in general with disfavor and opposition, or at least without special interest, yet now they occupy themselves in all the most important countries with this task, and have placed it in the center of interest. Apart from the lessons of the German Revolution, this is due to the untiring and practical work of the Young Communist International in general and of the Young Communist Leagues in the various countries in particular. This is particularly the case in Germany, France, Italy, *Checho-Slovakia* and Great Britain.

The Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International will mainly have the task of once more stressing the decisions of the Third Congress according to the general development of the work of the shop nuclei organization, and making arrangements for their realization. Further the Congress will have to adapt the decisions to the practical tasks.

It is necessary to show that the shop nuclei organization does not only apply to the large and middle-sized shops but also to the small shops and even to shops where we have only one or two members in each shop.

The Congress will have to deal with the suggestion of the so-called handicraft nuclei as they are established by the French and Italian Leagues, i. e. the combination of the members of several small workshops of one trade and one section of a town into a nucleus.

The most important tasks will be to deal in detail with the permanent petty work of the nucleus in all the fields of the League activity and to elaborate the concrete and practical forms of the reconstruction and reorganization.

It will furthermore be useful to collect and utilise the experiences of the nuclei under illegal conditions.

The Congress must require as its minimum results that within one year at the latest there shall be no League which has not seriously and extensively started the practical work and which has not its nuclei in the principal shops, and that, further, the most important Leagues shall have reached the second stage, in which the center of the League activity is already to a great degree transferred into the nuclei, and that the Leagues of the main countries shall be completely reorganized upon the shop nuclei basis. We must everywhere endeavour to come as quickly as possible to a complete reorganization, and must also assist the Parties in this work of reorganization.

The Political Activity of the Young Communist International and its Sections.

I.

AS with various other problems, that of the political activity of the Young Communist mass organizations was not quite clear previous to the Third Congress, and therefore the well-known mistakes and digressions occurred. In some countries political activity was very limited, the interest in political questions very small. The Third Congress pointed definitely to the fact that a communist mass organization of the youth in the sense of the decisions of the Second World Congress must have its political activity as, basis of its work. Thus, the Third Congress decided upon the intensification and the improvement of the political work of the Young Communist International and its various sections. This decision was carried through by the Y. C. I., and in general it was very well carried out.

But even today in many places the opinion exists that the political work is only a part of our work, only one of its departments. This is incorrect and a mistake. The political activity is not merely a part of our League activity, but it is the basis of our whole League work, and the method of all our activities. This means that our whole organization and activity must be in the closest contact with the Party life and the problems and struggles of the working class.

Thus it was also incorrect when comrades termed the political work the main task of the Leagues. To say this is either senseless or incorrect. For we cannot call the political activity our main task if it is the basis and the method of all our activity, that is of all our tasks. Our main task, particularly after the Third Congress, is the conquest of the masses of the working class youth for communism and the development of the League into mass organizations. If the comrades mean, however, when saying that the political work is the main task, that the general political work should be the center of our activity, then they commit a serious mistake and return to the antiquated conceptions of the time before the Second Congress.

The Third Congress was very far from this conception when it demanded the increase in the political activity. It had very clearly in mind that the most important task of the Young Communist Leagues was the work for the development into mass organizations. Concretely said, the demand for the increase in the political work meant the following: —

a) An increasing participation in the Party life and in the Party political and tactical problems on the part of the Leagues.

b) A close contact on the part of all the branches of the Leagues with the daily life and struggle of the working class (which naturally means with the life and the struggles of the Communist Party) and a swift reaction to these struggles.

c) An improvement in the political training of the membership and the officials.

It can be said that the first item has in general been carried out satisfactorily. With regard to the second a considerable improvement is to be recorded, through it is still deficient. As to the third, but little progress has been made.

II.

The participation in the Party life was determined by the general problems and the struggles of the Communist International and the working class, and by the internal problems of the Parties.

The most important events since the Fourth Congress of the Communist International were, shortly summarized, the following: —

The Ruhr occupation and as its consequence, the extreme intensification of the class struggles and the beginning of the struggle for power in Germany and the intensification and acceleration of the class struggles in France. The new and strong offensive of capital. The fascist revolt in Bulgaria and the subsequent rebellion of the Bulgarian workers and peasants. The rising of the revolutionary wave in Poland. The formation of the Labour Government in Great Britain. The increasing resistance of the proletariat against Fascism in Italy. The intensification of the class struggle in Norway. The increasing dangers of war. The progressing transformation of the social democracy into the left wing of Fascism. The increase of the struggle in the colonies.

All these events demanded much from the Communist Parties and confronted the Young Communist International and the Communist Leagues with many tasks. On the one hand

they had to carry out those tasks apportioned to them as parts of the Communist Parties, on the other hand they had to carry out their own special tasks. In most of the above mentioned events the Y. C. I. and the Young Communist Leagues have fulfilled their duties and done good work.

This is best evident in the struggle against the Ruhr occupation, in the work of the Young Communist League and the Y. C. I. in Germany, in the events and struggles in Bulgaria, in the developments of the labour movements and the class struggle in Norway, in the struggle against the war dangers, in the activity within the organizations of the social democratic youth. Less significant and intense, but nevertheless worthy of mention was the work in Great Britain and Italy. In the economic-trade union struggle against the offensive of capital the activity of the Young Communist International and its sections was weak. In this respect only the French League and during last winter the Norwegian League have worked satisfactorily (the Y. C. I. of Germany also to a small degree.).

Apart from these general problems there were a number of internal problems of the Communist International and of the Communist Parties which played a very great role, and which in some cases constituted vital problems for our movement.

As a consequence of the October defeat and the serious mistakes committed by the Party, a serious crisis developed within the Communist Party of Germany which led to an internal conflict lasting till the Party convention in April of this year. Immediately after the Fourth Congress of the Communist International the right wing leaders in the Communist Party of France revolted against the leadership of the Communist International and attempted to split the Party, which, however, they did not succeed in doing. In the course of the last five months new and sharp conflicts developed in the French Party on the Russian, German and English problems. On account of wrong and opportunistic conceptions on the conquest of power by the fascists, the Party leadership in Bulgaria failed at the decisive moment. A Party crisis developed which became very intense, particularly after the September defeat. In Russia opposition formed against the leadership, and a great Party discussion developed. The right

opportunists and enemies of the Communist International in Scandinavia intensified their struggle against the Communist International, and at the same time against the Young Communist League and the Y. C. I. In Norway a Party split took place, and in Sweden a sharp Party crisis. In Italy the Communist International was compelled to intervene organizationally, as the leadership of the Party was hindering the carrying out of the policy of the Communist International in that country.

In all these Party problems and in their settlement the Y. C. I. and the Young Communist Leagues have actively participated. It is characteristic that they have everywhere stood for the Communist International and have proved to be its most faithful support. The co-operation of the Leagues with the Communist International was particularly active in the Norwegian, Swedish, Bulgarian, French and German Parties.

III.

The activity of the Young Communist International against the Ruhr occupation, which was extensively begun on the first day of the occupation and has been continued without interruption but with intensification, since that time, is well known to the Leagues. The Y. C. I. supported the political struggle against the Ruhr occupation both in Germany and France. A successful propaganda week against militarism and the danger of war carried out before the Frankfurt Conference, served this purpose. The Y. C. I. developed a considerable propaganda amongst the workers of the occupied territory and in France, and it organized an intensive and untiring propaganda amongst the troops of occupation. This work was very successful, and its success has been vouched for time and again by the French bourgeoisie with Poincaré and the Minister of War Maginot, at the head, by furious persecutions against the communists and by statements of alarm. The work in the Ruhr stands among the best and most hopeful achievements of the Young Communist International.

Germany.

The more the class struggle in Germany intensified and developed into a revolutionary struggle for power, the

more definitely did the Young Communist League of Germany participate in them. It everywhere proved itself to be the most lively element in the struggles of the Party. By its activity in this connection it developed more and more into a mass organization of the working class youth, and in September of last year it had more than 70,000 members. When the necessity for a quick preparation for the struggle for power became clear, the Young Communist International and the Young Communist League of Germany together with the Communist International determined the tasks in these struggles. The Young Communist International concentrated all its forces upon Germany, and for months it devoted the greater part of its activity to the support of the revolutionary struggles in Germany and the activity of the German League.

Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria the Young Communist League was the most active part of the Party. It quickly realized the correctness of the criticism directed by the Communist International against the attitude of the Party and urged energetically for work according to the directions of the Communist International. In the September revolt the Young Communist League fought everywhere in the front ranks and proved its faith in the revolutionary struggles by bloody sacrifices.

Norway.

The Young Communist League fights in the front ranks in the gigantic struggles against the offensive of capital in which 60 per cent of the Norwegian industrial workers are engaged, either having been locked out or being on strike, for the last six months. The Young Communist League is therefore the object of a particularly furious persecutions by the government.

The Danger of War.

The Communist International has carried on its struggle against the danger of war mainly in connection with the Ruhr occupation, but it has also devoted its continuous attention to all military events and armaments and adopted its activity to them. When Italian imperialism made its attack against Greece in 1923, the Italian League worked actively

amongst the masses against the war. The increase of this work amongst the Parties may be considered as the essential success of the work of the Young Communist International against militarism and the danger of war.

The Campaign for the United Front and Against the Amalgamation of the Social Democratic Internationals of Youth.

The Young Communist International has carried on an active campaign among the masses of the working class youth and among the rank and file of the young communist movement for the united front internationally as well as nationally. First of all it did this internationally, against the Ruhr occupation and the danger of war, and later on a special campaign for the struggle against the danger of war, Fascism, the offensive of capital, and against the Hamburg amalgamation. The united front tactic was applied in Germany, in Checho-Slovakia, in Austria, Holland and Belgium. Generally this work was crowned by important successes and has promoted the exposure of the social democratic youth leaders, it has decreased the influence of the latter on the masses of the working class youth and has greatly aided the decomposition in their ranks.

Great Britain.

After the establishment of the Labour Government in Great Britain, the Young Communist International intensified its work in England. The Young Communist League of Great Britain started an extensive campaign among the masses of the working class youth and the working class, for its demands. This campaign, representing the economic, anti-militarist and political demands of the League, is still going on.

France.

The Young Communist League of France stood everywhere eagerly in the front ranks in the numerous smaller and larger struggles which went on in France against the offensive of capital, the reaction, the Ruhr occupation, militarism, etc. It naturally played an especially great role in the struggle against the Ruhr occupation, but also in the struggle against the offensive of capital, the rise of prices, and in the fights of the trade unions.

China.

The Young Communist League of China constitutes one of the most important political organizations of that country and participates actively in all political problems, in the organization of the trade unions, and in the great railway strike it made many bloody sacrifices. It was the leader of the great anti-militarist and revolutionary students' protest movement.

Let us now deal with the activity of the Young Communist International and its individual sections with regard to the *Party problems*: —

After the October defeat in *Germany* the Young Communist International endeavored to carry through a great political enlightenment work in the League and to induce it to adopt the correct policy, that of the Communist International. In this we succeeded. The overwhelming majority of the League took a definite attitude against the opportunistic digressions of the Right and the dangers connected with them. In connection with the developments in the Party, the Left comrades in the League gained a majority. In this respect there developed various ultra-left unbolshevist mistakes against which the Young Communist International took a stand, and which must be overcome. Generally the Young Communist League of Germany forms one of the most important factors in the development of the Communist Party of Germany into a truly Bolshevist Party and in the formation of a truly Bolshevist Party nucleus.

The Young Communist International and its sections have declared themselves unanimously for the policy of the Communist International with regard to the German problem.

Russia.

In the Party discussion the League placed itself unanimously on the side of the National Executive Committee and thus of the Party majority; only a few nonproletarian sections of the youth following the opposition. The Young Communist International has clearly stood in favor of the Russian Party majority and against the opposition, and the same has been done by its most important sections, the Young Communist Leagues of Germany, France, Checho-Slovakia, Italy,

Norway and Sweden, etc. The Russian League has now begun a policy of intensified participation in the Party life and an increased political activity.

Norway.

The Young Communist League of Norway formed the strongest support of the minority which was faithful to the Communist International and carries on an untiring and tenacious struggle against the opportunist-syndicalist Party majority and Party leadership. While the enemies of the Communist International succeeded in winning the majority of the Party, the Young Communist International won the overwhelming majority of the League and put the followers of the Party majority considerably in the minority within the League. When the split occurred, the Young Communist League of Norway proved again to be the firmest and most faithful support of the Communist International and of the new Communist Party of Norway. It affiliated with this Party with a majority of three to one. The minority split away and formed a new section of "Mot dag" under the beautiful title "Left Communist Youth". The Young Communist League of Norway transferred many hundreds of active members and leading comrades to the Communist Party of Norway.

Sweden.

In connection with the developments in the long difficulties in the Communist Party of Sweden came to a crisis. The majority of the N. E. C. of the Party under the leadership of Höglund attempted to transform the necessary conflict into a struggle against the Young Communist League, which was carried on with the most ruthless means. But the League remained faithful to the decisions of the Communist International. In the sharp Party crisis, which broke out after the Norwegian split on account of Höglund's attacks against the Communist International, the League stood firmly on the side of the Communist International and of the Party minority in Sweden, which followed the Communist International without reservation. On account of its own activity and that of the Young Communist Leagues in the two Scandinavian countries the Young Communist International was

sharply attacked by the Norwegian and the Swedish Party majorities, and the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International had to devote a considerable part of its work to a defence against these attacks. The Communist International and the Young Communist International have rejected these attacks calmly but with determination, and the latter did not allow itself to be deterred from the continuation of its work in Sweden and Norway.

Bulgaria.

We have already reported upon the attitude of the Young Communist League of Bulgaria in the discussion on the attitude of the Party towards the white dictatorship. The Group Communist International has made special endeavors (particularly at the Bureau Session) to induce the League to adopt the correct policy. It is now an accepted fact in Bulgaria, and normal relations are established between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party of Bulgaria, such as were demanded by the World Congresses in 1921 but which had not previously existed in Bulgaria.

France.

In the Frossard crisis the League fought energetically against the Right clique of leaders, and in some districts it was particularly the League that re-established the Party organization. In the Party discussion which took place this year on the German, Russian and English problems, the Young Communist International endeavored to win the Young Communist League for the policy of the Communist International, and in this it succeeded. The League placed itself upon the platform of the decisions and the policy of the Communist International, and took, together with the Party majority, a definite stand against the Right tendencies as they are represented mainly by Souvarine.

We wish further to report on the participation of the Young Communist International in the work of the Communist International in general.

The Young Communist International participated in all the activities of the Communist International even to a greater extent and in a more vivid manner than before the Hurd Congress, and it has contributed considerably to the work of

the Communist International in all countries, and in very many important problems it has done work directly for the Communist International. The result is a very considerable improvement in the relations and the co-operation between the Young Communist International and the Communist International, and a great strengthening of the position of the Young Communist International within the Communist International.

IV.

The death of our great leader *Lenin* as well as the Russian and the German Party discussions have shown us and the whole Communist International clearly the necessity of guarding and promoting the inheritance of *Lenin*. Leninism must become flesh and bone in all Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues. It must penetrate and determine all their activities, and we must strive to build up truly Leninist and Bolshevik organizations. A special task confronts the Young Communist International in this respect. We have the historic task of educating the younger generation of the working class, the whole young communist movement in the spirit of Leninism. This is a gigantic mission which we must fulfil not only for the special interests of the young communist movement, but above all because it is our duty to train the young reserves for the Communist International. The principles of Leninism and the results of the work and struggles of our great leader and of the Russian Communist Party are still very little known in our various Leagues. This must change. They must become the joint property of all young communists. We must systematically and completely provide the results of true Leninism for the members and officials of our movement in the closest connection with the daily work and struggles. Amidst the storms of the revolutionary struggles we must train a truly Leninist generation.

The Young Communist International must become a Young Leninist International!

The Organizational Development of the Young Communist International Since the Third World Congress.

WE can say with full justification that the organizational development of the Young Communist International since the Third World Congress has been an uninterrupted upward development. The period between the Second and the Third World Congress has been characterised by the attempts of our Young Communist Leagues to develop from political vanguards into mass organizations of the working class youth. This development took place at a time of general political decay, which expressed itself in the ranks of the working class youth by a considerable decrease of political interest. In connection with these features, and caused by the fact that the transition from the former activity to the special new tasks was extremely difficult and that the necessary forces for a smooth transition were lacking, our movement suffered a certain organizational setback. The onward development which had gone on from the first to the second congress was temporarily stopped. In some Leagues a numerical and organizational weakening even could be observed on account of a tardy realization of the necessity of the new tasks and also as a consequence of various local circumstances. This set-back or stopping of the growth was, however, only a partial feature, for at the same time the Young Communist International extended its basis over the whole world. It gained a foothold in the Orient (China, Japan, Mongolia, Korea) and in North and South America, and in some places in Africa, particularly hopefully in South Africa. This picture, the objective causes of which we understood although we were not satisfied with it as a whole, has considerably improved in the period since the Third World Congress.

Our Third World Congress took place at the beginning of a period of crisis which fundamentally shook the whole of a capitalist society of Europe. This revolutionary crisis, which was based upon the insoluble reparation problems, found its economic expression in the brutal offensive of capital against

the working class and above all against the working class youth, and its political expression in the powerful wave of white terror (Fascism), in the great increase of armaments, and in the continuous mobilizations of the bourgeois armies, all of which showed that new political complications could be expected in Europe. Our Third World Congress therefore, in correct recognition of the political necessities, had set two main tasks for the working class youth: 1) The proclamation of the struggle against the offensive of capital, the white terror (Fascism) and bourgeois militarism, and 2) the concrete adaptation of the general slogan of the Second World Congress "To the Masses of the Working Class Youth!" The concrete adaptation was carried out in the decisions for the change of the organizational basis of our movement and by the working out of the methods and principles of the work of a young communist mass organization.

What has been the organizational effect of these directions of our Third Congress?

We can say with justification that the organizational development of our movement alone in this period has given positive proof that the decisions of the Third Congress were completely correct and necessary.

What were the characteristics of the organizational development of our movement since the Third World Congress?

1) *The reorganization of the Leagues on the basis of the shop nuclei*, or the attempts at this reorganization, brought about a great enlivenment of almost all our Leagues deep into the rank and file. Even where the road to practice in this task was not immediately found, where there were only fundamental discussions on the new form of organization and thus discussions on the principles and methods of a young communist mass organization, these discussions led to a change of the conceptions of our membership as to the activity of our movement. We can say, that this was a process of closer combination and utilization of all parts of our movement.

Where the reorganization was started and carried through, there took place, as one of its most important consequences, a deep change in the social composition of our movement. At the Third World Congress it could be stated incontestably that the membership of our movement consisted only to a

small extent of the actually decisive stratum of the young proletariat, the young workers of large-scale industry, and that the greater proportion of our membership consisted of young workers from the small and middle-sized shops, and of young peasants and employees, etc. It was emphasised at that time that this unsatisfactory social composition would express itself in an inability of the organization to act, and that it would have a limiting influence upon the ideology of the Leagues unless we took determined steps to change this state of affairs, and that furthermore our influence on the decisive strata of the proletarian youth would remain a theory so long as we were unsuccessful in forming the main part of our movement from them. All the Leagues have understood this warning and we can say today that the social composition of our Leagues, at least of the most important Leagues, is approaching more and more that of a purely proletarian organization.

A second immediate consequence of the beginning of the work for the reorganization of the Leagues on the basis of shop nuclei and of the enlivenment and concentration of the League work connected with it, was the increase in the membership of our Leagues. We mention a few figures. According to the statistics at our disposal at the present moment, the membership of the following Leagues has changed in the following manner: —

Russia from	420,000 to 520,000
Germany from	28,000 to 70,000*
France from	4,000 to 7,000
Italy from	2,000 to 4,500
America from	2,000 to 5,000
Great Britain from	600 to 1,500
Checho-Slovakia from	8,000 to 13,500

Thus there is a plus of 126,000 members, calculating the present membership of the Young Communist League of Germany.

We mention these examples, as they are the most characteristic; we have not yet received the newest figures of a great number of Leagues.

In connection with this — and this is of decisive importance —

* Before the prohibition. Today the membership is over 40,000.

ance for the development of our movement since the Third Congress — we gained a considerable increase in our influence among the broad masses of the working class youth. This showed itself mainly in the various national and international campaigns, which were carried through by the League and by the Young Communist International, for instance the campaign against the Hamburg deception of the young workers, the anti-militarist campaign against the Ruhr occupation, the Ninth International Day of Youth, the campaign for the support of the German revolution, the various campaigns for youth protection and holidays, the increasing number of strikes of young workers in all countries, in which the young workers placed themselves exclusively under the leadership of the Young Communist League, etc.

2) The next characteristic feature in our organizational development is our continuous development into a *strictly centralized world organization*. The Young Communist International can today with full justification call itself an international league, in which many languages are spoken, but completely uniform work and struggle is carried on.

3) This development into a world organization shows itself above all in the ever *stricter and more uniform international leadership*, which has the greatest influence on the daily mass work of the Leagues. Our Executive Committee is no question box, no information bureau, as that of the social patriotic International of Youth, which therefore meets only two or three times a year. It actually leads almost the whole work of the individual sections in a general manner. It discusses in its sessions all essential problems of the national League work and formulates directions on them. When the white press and the social democrats write about "Moscow Orders", they are very badly informed on the character of these "orders", but the Moscow leadership is a fact, a leadership through letters, directions, delegation, which reach the various countries despite the guards of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats.

The social democrats, when making a business report, like to mention many figures and note carefully how many letters have been dispatched and received by their organization. We do not like these figures for their own sake, but we utilize them in order to mark a piece of development, in

order to draw the necessary conclusions from them for the future. In order to prove the increase and consolidation of the international leadership of our movement we therefore wish to mention the following figures. Note, however, that they only refer to about six months of the activity of the Executive Committee, that is the time from the Third World Congress till about the Fourth Bureau Session (July 1st, 1923). The figures for the whole period under survey are not yet available. They will be given to the delegates to the Congress as material for the discussions. We will publish them later on.

In the period mentioned there took place 61 sessions of the Executive Committee in which 666 items on the agenda were discussed, of which 366 concerned the affiliated Leagues, that is, they dealt with concrete practical problems of these Leagues.

The Executive Committee received 616 letters from the Leagues. Further, the Leagues sent most of their circulars, minutes and other materials of their work to the Executive Committee.

The dispatch of letters reached the number 394. This does not include the numerous circulars of the Executive Committee to the Leagues and much other material which the Executive Committee placed at the disposal of the National Executive Committees.

These figures are naturally only half a proof. The main test is naturally the character of the letters, directions and discussions. Nevertheless the figures give an interesting picture, and show that a close contact actually existed between the international leadership and the national sections of our International.

A further means for the stronger influencing of the individual sections and for the improvement of the contact between them and the Executive Committee were the numerous delegations. In the period mentioned 21 delegations with 625 days' stay in the Leagues were organized.

4) A further sign for our favorable organizational development is the fact that we succeeded in making up for and overcoming *the great losses* which our movement suffered by the attacks of white terror and Fascism in quite a number of Leagues, for instance, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania,

the Border States, Finland. In the above mentioned figures it has already been stated that our Italian League has nearly regained the number of members that it had before the victory of Fascism. The same can be said of the other Leagues mentioned, although the wave of terror has increased in the past year. We recall the horrible persecutions in Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania and Rumania during the past period and during the months of illegality in the German League, and the furious persecutions in Spain and France. Nowhere did the bourgeoisie succeed in attaining its aim, it neither annihilated our movement nor caused it serious losses. Having learned from the past, our Leagues almost everywhere took the necessary precautions in time. For this reason they were able to maintain the center of their organization undamaged, and thus were enabled to recover after the first attack of white terror.

5) A further and very important proof of the organisational upward development of our movement is the improvement of our League press. In the past period it has been completely transformed, and we can say without exaggeration that most Leagues have been able to change their organs both as to contents and forms, into mass organs of the working class youth. While formerly the organs had a magazine character and were mostly devoted to educational work and abstract political problems, to-day most League organs, by the change of their form (newspaper type) and of their contents, which are more adapted to the daily life of the young workers, their needs and desires, and to the topical political problems, have got a quite different character. Such a change has taken place in the League organs in Germany, Checho-Slovakia (where the League organ appears regularly in four languages, Czech, German, Slovakian and Hungarian), Switzerland, America, England. The other Leagues have partly carried through this change and deal more than before with the topical political problems and with the daily questions of the working class youth. Thus we can record the development of a new type of communist mass organ. Naturally this development has not yet come to an end, but it has progressed a good part of the way.

The international press has also passed through a considerable development. After the transformation of the "Inter-

national of Youth" into an international official organ and the limitation of the "Correspondence of the Young International" to a mere information organ on the situation within the Young Communist International, their distribution has been extended and the circle of readers changed. The period of illegality, the closing of our Publishing House in Berlin during the Seeckt dictatorship, interrupted this favorable development and we are now making up for lost time. Apart from the two above mentioned organs there appear now as before "The Proletarian Child" (Bulletin for the Leaders of Children's Groups), "The Young Comrade" (which is now again issued by the German League) and a number of illustrated mass papers, of which particularly the last two issues had a wide sale. In comparison with the development of the League organs the development of the international organs, as far as their distribution through the Leagues is concerned, is still unsatisfactory. In this respect a great improvement must be brought about by the Leagues. Also the contributions on the part of the officials of the Leagues are still very insufficient. Nevertheless in comparison with the time before the Third Congress, an improvement has been brought about.

6) A field on which we have made progress, but insufficient progress, is the *international organizational development of our Leagues*. The problems of general and financial administration, of the registration of the membership, which alone makes possible a continuous control and observation of the social composition of our Leagues, and in connection with this the organizational training of the officials, receive too little attention in our Leagues.

Let us deal first with the second item. Although, through the transition to the basis of shop nuclei we are today more than formerly protected against a bad social composition of our Leagues for the activity and the influence of our movement, we can never be sure that, as a consequence of the neglect of observation of this social composition, damaging and surprising effects on our Leagues may not take place.

We have, for instance, experienced recently that a too hasty rejuvenation of the membership of a League can seriously damage its political activity and general ability to act. If a registration of the membership had taken place in the respect-

ive League, however primitive it might have been, we could have taken measures to improve the age composition of the League in time. Similar examples exist also in other fields. It is in any case clear that without such a registration a really systematic recruiting, organizational and educational work cannot be carried on. Thus this task still remains to be fulfilled.

The importance of a general and financial administration is recognized by all comrades. The more then must we regret that on this field nothing decisive has been as yet undertaken. Upon a good administration depends the close and regular contact with the rank and file, and the good and punctual provision of the membership with all necessary material. It is clear that without this a really good League work cannot be carried on.

The same applies to the financial administration. Many of our plans and campaigns fail on account of lack of finances. A better financial administration, an increase in the income of our Leagues, will enable them to carry on their work among the masses much more regularly, and to provide the necessary propaganda and educational material, etc.

The International can only do good work if the Leagues punctually fulfil their financial duties to it. In this respect many deficiencies still remain to be remedied. Apart from the Russian League, not a single League has paid really serious attention to the collections for the Liebknecht Fund, which is the fighting fund of our movement. The same applies to the delivery of the international membership dues. Much must be improved in this organizational-technical field. Without this improvement, despite all great progresses in the field of the organizational development, a favorable judgement on our development can be given only with reservations.

Thus we have given a general characterisation of the organizational development of our movement in the time between the Third and the Fourth World Congresses. We can add and "prophecy" that the gratifying upward development, in which our movement finds itself, is by no means finished. Only a modest beginning has been made with the shop nuclei work and we are still confronted with the task of opening a new field, the work in the colonies of the capi-

talist states and above all the work among the negroes and other colored races. The Fourth World Congress will thoroughly discuss these and will give new forces and new initiative for the further organizational development of our movement. This and the favorable objective conditions, as they result from the continual revolutionary crisis, will guarantee the continuation of the growth of our movement into a movement that comprises the whole world, all languages and human races and which represents a uniform and firmly led world organization of the young proletariat.

The Educational Work Since the Third World Congress of The Young Communist International.

IN its resolution upon the realisation of the decisions of the Second World Congress, the Third Congress set the systematic training of the members, the increase in the education of the officials and the taking up of the mass educational work upon the largest possible scale as the most important tasks of the educational work.

The work for the carrying out of this plan since the Congress has not been carried on with uniform persistency. Stages in which the educational work has been carried on with more or less intensity can be distinguished.

The time up to the Fourth Bureau Session was devoted to the assimilation of the results of the Congress and to the setting up of a systematic program which was summarised in the resolution of the Bureau Session on educational work.

In the period immediately following when the whole movement was concentrated upon the events in Germany there remained little time for the realisation of the Bureau Session plan because the greater part of the forces of the whole movement was devoted to political work.

With November an increase in the educational work began which can be particularly noticed in several of the Leagues. What has been the activity of the Executive Committee of

the Young Communist International in the the past period upon the field of the educational work?

During the period up to the Bureau Session and immediately after it the E. C. carried on an intensive work in this field. The new distribution of forces which became necessary in connection with the events in Germany had a particularly bad effect upon the educational work at a later period.

With regard to the education of the membership, considerable progress can be recorded. The "Fundamental Political Knowledge" was published in the German language in November and the wide sale has shown that it is a necessity for our work. According to the decisions of the Bureau Session a number of further booklets have been prepared but not yet issued to supplement the above mentioned booklet, Bogdanov, "Text Book of Political Economy", Gorev, "Historical Materialism", Dickstein, "On What We Live", Pokrovsky, "Economic Materialism", Petrovsky, "Capitalism and Socialism", and Radek, "Socialism from Science to Practice".

These short booklets are already prepared in manuscript and form a supplementary material for the fundamental political instruction.

Although the systematic fundamental political training was not continued further, rather much was done upon the field of mass education by stirring the masses to political action. The E. C. issued a special number of the "Correspondence of the Young International" (German) for the information of members on the meaning of the German events.

Articles appeared regularly in the "International of Youth" upon the system and the methods of training for the membership.

Directions as to methods were given for the circle work as a part of the membership training.

The *education of officials* was a problem of extreme importance for the rejuvenation of the membership and the new tasks set by the work in the nuclei. The Fourth Bureau Session has pointed out the importance of the working groups of propagandists in the education of officials, for which the E. C. issued instructions.

The transformation of the "International of Youth" into an organ for officials which published articles on all fields of our work as well as rich material for the general activity

of our Leagues was a specially important step for the education of our officials and particularly for their propaganda work.

With regard to the *mass-educational work*, the E. C. has made a beginning with the publication of two booklets, one on the occasion of the Seventh of November and the other on the Fifteenth of January. (This latter was also published in the English Language). These booklets contain practical instructions and at the same time good material for use on the propaganda evenings in connection with the memorial days.

The "International of Youth" also published mass educational material continuously.

The work of the E. C. was thus quite sufficiently in accordance with the forces which could be used for the work in the past year. The work of the department was not carried on after the Bureau Session to the extent that would have been desirable, but the E. C. has exercised a leading influence on the whole educational work thru its publications as well as thru its delegates to the various Leagues.

In the *educational work of the Leagues* considerable progress can be recorded. The discussion on the methods of the educational work has been concluded and all Leagues hold the same opinion as that laid down by the Third Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session with regard to the educational work. It is true that there are a number of deficiencies in the practical carrying out of the decisions, but these must be remedied in the future work. There is a lack of suitable officials for our educational work, particularly in those Leagues which have passed thru a process of rejuvenation.

The work in all the Leagues has become more systematic and the N. E. C:s have endeavored to place material at the disposal of the branches and the nuclei for the educational work.

We must especially refer to the work of the Checho-Slovakian League which has worked out a program for the educational work for three months. Although most of the other Leagues did not set up such extensive programs, yet the work in every respect has been more systematic, and the

influence of the N. E. C:s upon the educational work of the branches has considerably increased.

Even in Sweden, where the carrying thru of our educational program was difficult on account of the composition of the league from old comrades, the League has seriously started with the carrying thru of the decisions of the Y. C. I.

The following can be recorded in detail upon the educational work of the Leagues: —

Training of Membership.

In the beginning we felt very seriously the lack of suitable material for the fundamental political instruction. Therefore all Leagues were compelled to limit themselves to a general political enlightenment based upon the daily events. For this purpose almost all Leagues issued regularly data for lectures, etc. The British League has issued a Syllabus of the political minimum.

In most of the Leagues, particularly in the Scandinavian, mostly circle work was done and the education of the members somewhat neglected. At present, however, also in these Leagues, the main attention is being paid to the education of the completely untrained.

A special form of membership training which we must welcome has been found by the French and Italian Leagues. They issue regular circulars ("Bulletin de la Federation" and "Dispensa"). These circulars are for reading thru in all the branches and nuclei. The successes which have been obtained in this way, even where there is a complete lack of trained educational functionaries, are very good.

The Education of Officials.

This is the most urgent problem of our Leagues. Up to the present the main work in this field has been done in the official classes which have been again arranged this year, for instance in Checho-Slovakia. The disadvantage of the official classes, however, is that they comprise only a small number of officials, and besides they are very expensive for the organisation.

The short classes, as for instance those organised by the French League, have proved better. This is a class of four

days' duration providing the functionaries with ammunition for their work in the future.

In the past year a great progress has been made by the organs for officials of the Leagues. Apart from the purely organisational circulars issued by all the Leagues, there exist organs for officials in the German League, "Die Arbeit", in the Checho-Slovakian League, "Der Fuehrer" (the latter is issued in three languages), and in the Swedish League "Klubbisten".

All these organs for officials have occupied themselves with purely practical work. The German organ, "Die Arbeit", has changed its character for this purpose.

The working groups of propagandists, which were stressed by the Bureau Session as important for the education of the officials, have, up to the present, not been formed anywhere. The Checho-Slovakian League is the first to make any beginning in this respect.

Mass Educational Work.

This part of the League work is still very weak. Instructions for speeches and sometimes even material for memorial days have been issued, but the work of the nuclei upon this field is completely insufficient.

When we consider the total result of our educational work in this period we have to say that it is still far from satisfactory. It is true that the E. C. and in most cases also the N. E. C:s of the Leagues have carried thru as far as possible the decisions of the Y. C. I. But still there remain great deficiencies in our work which must be remedied if they are not to become a great danger for the whole of the League activity.

Above all there is the lack of a sufficiently trained nucleus of officials for the new features of our work. It is true that the political activity and the political knowledge of our officials has been increased considerably in the course of the events of last year, but we must nevertheless continue to concentrate upon the education of our officials.

The provision of the young members of the Leagues with a minimum of political knowledge must be strengthened and carried thru under all circumstances. The educational work of the nuclei must be commenced and the E. C. and the N. E. C:s must particularly give their support to this work.

The mass work must be strongly emphasised and the working groups of propagandists must commence their work, and thus be the best means for the self-education of the officials.

The propaganda and the study of Leninism will be the great task of the circle work in the near future.

Struggle and Work of the Y. C. I. Against Bourgeois Militarism and the Danger of War.

In the Period Between the Third and the Fourth Congresses.

AT the time when this is written, detailed material on the development of our anti-militarist work in the course of the above mentioned period is being prepared and will be presented to the delegates at the Congress. Therefore we will limit ourselves to the most important points of our anti-militarist activity in the time between the Third and the Fourth Congresses of the Young Communist International (December 1922—June 1924).

The Third Congress of the Young Communist International appealed to the young communist movement of the whole world to strengthen the general struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war. *The Fourth International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International* in June 1923 dealt with the problems of the anti-militarist work from a practical point of view and gave a number of directions for the daily activity. Its decisions referred above all to (a) co-operation with the Party, (b) propaganda, (c) educational work, (d) the representation of the daily interest of the soldiers, (e) organizational problems and (f) international co-operation. On the basis of the Theses of these two international sessions the Leagues and the International had to carry on their anti-militarist work in the period under survey.

(a) With regard to the role of the Communist Parties in

the struggle against militarism and the danger of war, the conditions have not in any considerable degree been improved. With the exception of the Ruhr work of the Communist Parties of Germany and France, the participation of the Communist Parties in this work was and is still insufficient. This had naturally its effect on the work of the Young Communist Leagues. However, in the second quarter of 1924 an improvement took place, for the Communist International took a number of important measures for the energetic carrying through of the fight, against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war, by the Communist Parties and for the support of the work of the youth movement internationally as well as nationally. It has furthermore placed the problem of anti-militarism on the agenda of its Fifth Congress. As a consequence of this we can expect that the Communist Parties will no longer consider the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war as a special field of work of the youth organizations, but as a field of work, which is just as important or even more important for the Communist Parties and for which they bear the responsibility. Thus a considerable relief of the youth movement with regard to its anti-militarist work can be expected.

(b) With regard to the *anti-militarist propaganda* of the international young communist movement in the period since the Third Congress of the Young Communist International a considerable progress can be recorded, this was acknowledged by the Fourth International Bureau Session and was continued in the ensuing period nationally as well as internationally in continual campaigns and through the press, as well as through the provision of the Party press with suitable material. However, apart from the Ruhr, an increase in the publication of special anti-militarist propaganda material cannot be recorded.

Immediately after the commencement of the Ruhr occupation the extensive work of the Young Communist International and specially of the Young Communist Leagues of Germany and France started in the *Ruhr District*. This work was increased from month to month and reached its highest point during the development of the situation in Germany for the decisive events in the October days of 1923. The activity which was developed in the Ruhr, beginning with

the first day of the invasion of French militarism, demanded many victims. Now, in the middle of May 1924, a trial against 150 young comrades and class conscious French soldiers who are accused of anti-militarist propaganda is taking place before a French court martial in Mainz. The Ruhr work constitutes the most positive and glorious chapter in the struggle of the international young communist movement against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war. At the beginning of the world congress a booklet on the propaganda in the Ruhr District will be off the press, in which details of the results of this work with numerous illustrations will be given.

From March 11th. to 18th, 1923 the *International Propaganda Week* of the Young Communist International against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war took place, as decided upon by the Third World Congress. On the occasion of this Week, the Executive Committee, similarly in accordance with a decision of the Third World Congress, appealed to the two socialist Internationals of Youth (at that time not yet amalgamated) for the joint carrying thru of this Week. The Young Workers' International expressed the view, however, that the struggle against militarism and the danger of war in general and against the Ruhr occupation in particular did not concern the youth and was a matter for the adults. The Second-and-a-Half Youth International, in whose leading circles the amalgamation with the Noske people was already at that time a firm decision, joined Voogd and his clique in order that the so-called "Work of Unity" (against the communists) might not be endangered. Both Internationals tried to conceal their lamentable attitude by pointing to the (in their opinion) magnificent results of the Hague "World Peace Congress" (December 4th to 6th 1922). Thus the Young Communist International organized the international propaganda week from the 11th. to the 18th of March alone, and although it was not carried thru in all countries in a satisfactory manner, it was the first extensive, internationally-centralized anti-militarist campaign. It was organized with very much energy particularly in Central and Western Europe and demanded a great number of victims. The French government in particular organized severe persecutions against our movement. It not only imprisoned a number of French young comrades (among others Péri and

Laporte) but also arrested a German Member of Parliament of the Communist Party, Comrade Höllein, who was enthusiastically welcomed by the French proletariat.

The Young Communist League of Checho-Slovakia carried thru an anti-militarist campaign on the occasion of the visit of the French General Foch in Prague (in May 1923) the purpose of which was the preparation of the French-Czech treaty which was finally concluded when President Mazaryk made his return visit to Paris in October 1924. This campaign was followed by new persecutions of the League on the part of the bourgeois-socialist coalition government of Checho-Slovakia.

A rather considerable place in the activity of the International as well as of the respective Leagues, was taken by the anti-militarist work at the time of the September events in Bulgaria and above all during the intensified revolutionary situation in Germany in October 1923.

On the occasions of the Russo-British conflict, of the Greco-Italian incident and of the Jugoslavian-Bulgarian danger of war, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International issued special directions for the organization of campaigns and succeeded in getting the respective Leagues (particularly the Italian and the Greek Leagues) to adapt themselves to the intensification of the situation in their countries.

Apart from these important propaganda campaigns with an international character or with reference to the international situation, special national campaigns were carried on in a number of countries (in Norway and Sweden, in Great Britain [Navy Campaign], etc.) with which we cannot deal here in detail. They will be treated in the material that will be presented to the world congress.

(e) *The anti-militarist educational work* was a weak spot in our anti-militarist activity in the period under survey. The Instructions contained in this respect in the resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session, were not realized to any considerable extent. There was a very evident lack of fundamental anti-militarist literature. The Leagues were not able to remedy this and the International also, chiefly on account of the necessity of concentrating all forces on the development of the events in Germany, was unable to issue the intended

series of anti-militarist booklets. Thus there was in our movement as well as in the ranks of the working class youth an insufficient clarity on the fundamental attitude of the communists to militarism and to anti-militarism and as a consequence of that a systematic and persistent criticism of the conceptions of our opponents, particularly of the social democrats (Hague "World Peace Congress", attitude of the international trade union congress in Rome, January 1923, the Hamburg Unity Congress, May 1923), but also of the syndicalists and anarchists, as well as of all kinds of pacifists whose actually purely counter-revolutionary views on militarism and anti-militarism have still a rather large and damaging influence in some countries (for instance in Norway the military strike movement of the Tranmæl youth league, which calls itself demagogically "left communist") was lacking.

(d) *The representation of the daily interests of the soldiers* was carried on, with very few exceptions (as for instance France), but little, and systematic work and persistency were lacking. Nearly nothing has been undertaken in the various countries in order to set up programs of soldiers' demands as demanded by the resolution of the Fourth Bureau Session. Therefore, there was no material for a concrete adaptation of the international demands of the Third Congress of the Young Communist International for the soldiers. The parliamentary fractions of the Communist Parties have in most cases not devoted that attention to the daily interests of the masses of soldiers that was necessary and possible.

(e) *The internal organizational frame* for the anti-militarist work has been created in nearly all Leagues as far as the central bodies are concerned. But in most cases it is still lacking in the local and district organizations.

The most important decision of the Third World Congress of the Young Communist International and of the Fourth Bureau Session, the creation of nuclei within the army and the navy as the most important condition for the organizational consolidation of our influence on the soldiers and according to Lenin the only means for the fight against war and its transformation into the civil war and revolution, is not yet carried into practice. Although the necessity of the formation of nuclei within the army and the navy has been

stressed in the recent period much more than formerly and although it has been possible to obtain very significant results in this respect in the Ruhr district, the true organization of the nuclei in the period under survey was not carried into the foreground of our antimilitarist work as had been explicitly demanded by the Third Congress and the Fourth International Bureau Session. This fact has naturally a number of objective causes. It must, however, be clearly stressed in order to define correctly the direction of our work for the future.

(f) On the field of the *international co-operation* against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war we have made a step onwards in the period since the Third Congress. Apart from the international propaganda week from the 11th. to the 18th of March 1923 and the international character of the Ruhr work in which not only the Young Communist Leagues of Germany and France co-operated, but also all other Leagues and, by means of propaganda support, also the Y. C. I. We had two further prominent cases of international co-operation on the field of anti-militarist work. First of all there was the activity which the Leagues in general and the sections in and around Germany and the Young Communist International as such, in particular, carried on in autumn 1923 and also later, after the decrease of the revolutionary wave, for the support of the expected German revolution. This activity consisted mostly of propaganda against bourgeois interventions against a workers' Germany and thus of struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of new wars. Further the second conference of the Balkan Federation of the Young Communist Leagues achieved a valuable international co-operation on the field of anti-militarism, by coordinating the work of the Balkan Leagues in this respect. In order to bring about a complete international co-operation in the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war in the spirit of the decisions of the Fourth Bureau Session, there still remains much to be done.

For the sake of being complete, we wish to mention here the active participation of the Young Communist International in the Conferences of Essen (January 6th, 1923) and Frankfurt (March 18th, 1923) for the organization of the struggle against the Ruhr occupation.

When considering our anti-militarist work in the time between the Third and the Fourth World Congresses of the Young Communist International, as a whole, we come to the conclusion that this period in the development of the Young Communist International brought a considerable strengthening of our struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war, but that it also showed great deficiencies and mistakes in this work internationally as well as nationally. With regard to its extent, it was insufficient and its quality was deficient. It was in many cases pushed into the background by political problems and topical questions. From this we were able to see clearly the insufficient co-ordination of the whole anti-militarist activity of our movement. Anti-militarist work which is isolated from the general line of the League work does not fulfil its role as purely political work in close relation to the whole course of our movement. The support on the part of the Parties was insufficient and this sometimes resulted in a considerable decrease in the activity of the Leagues. The main deficiency was, however, that the problem of the organization of the nuclei within the army and the navy was not sufficiently stressed in the daily work. There were further, mistakes and deficiencies regarding the methods and the forms of the illegal protection of the anti-militarist work.

Basing itself on the results, the mistakes and the experiences during the past period and on the intensified international situation, and supporting itself on the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International on the problem of anti-militarism, the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International will thus have the task of placing the struggle against bourgeois militarism and the danger of war again before the whole international young communist movement as an extremely important task and of giving even more concrete instructions for the fulfilment of this task than were given by the Third Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International.

In detail, the Congress will have to deal with the problem according to the following items: —

1) The development, results, lessons and deficiencies of the anti-militarist work since the Third Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session of the Young Communist International.

2) The intensification of the world situation, the increase of armaments, and the intensification of the danger of war.

3) A concrete outline of the fundamental attitude of the communists to militarism and anti-militarism, measures for the greater popularization of this attitude in the ranks of the movement and of the working class youth and a strengthening of the daily criticism of the theoretical attitude and practical steps of the opponents, particularly the social democrats.

4) Stressing and outlining concretely the role and the significance of the anti-militarist activity as a part of the total work of the movement, its co-ordination with the general work towards becoming a mass organization.

5) Supplementing and working out of new directions for the practical work, especially for the extension of the antimilitarist activity, for the establishment of nuclei within the army and the navy, for the improvement of methods, for the utilization of all legal possibilities and for the improvement of the illegal protection of the work.

The Economic Trade Union Work of the Young Communist International.

THE Second World Congress had already dealt in detail with the problem of the economic trade union struggle of the Young Communist Leagues, but it was left to the Third Congress to work out a practical program for the struggle that could be used by all the Leagues. This program is based upon the fact, that despite the variety of conditions existing in the various countries, the fundamental situation of the working class youth in capitalist society is the same, and that the need for a clear and joint struggle with a uniform aim, in the economic struggle of the Young Communists has made itself felt.

It is true that the working class youth already possessed an international program of economic demands, i. e. the program of the "Demands for the Economic Protection of

the Youth" set up by the First Congress of the Youth International held in Stuttgart in 1907. Although the fundamental demands of this program hold good to-day it could not be taken as the basis for the economic struggles of the Young Communist Leagues. Our Third Congress extended this program in accordance with the present situation. The Stuttgart Program was actually a reformist program but it has been transformed in a revolutionary sense. Whilst the Stuttgart Program wanted to abolish only "the worst instances of capitalist exploitation", and this within the framework of the capitalist order, the Program of the Third Congress bases itself upon quite different conceptions. The militant program of the Young Communist International does not take into consideration the ability of capitalist economy, and it is not a means for the abolition of the "worst instances" of the exploitation of the youth, but a means for the abolition of all exploitation by making the fundamental aim of the economic struggle of the working class youth the complete transformation of the conditions of labour i.e. its socialist re-organization.

Apart from the above final aim which is summarised in the program, it contains a number of partial demands which can only be considered within the framework of the entire revolutionary struggle of which they constitute an inseparable part. These partial demands are only a lever for action in the fight for the revolutionary transformation, and a means for undermining the power of capitalism and intensifying the revolutionary determination of the young workers.

The experiences of the last few years have shown that the Young Communist International has taken an important step by adopting this program and that this step was in the right direction. The Fourth Bureau Session made no addition or fundamental change in the Program. It stressed some items of it. The Fourth World Congress will also have to make no changes. In principle the program is correctly built up and it has proved to be correct in practice. The old decisions still apply to their full extent.

What has been done since the last Bureau Session?

In the period between the Third Congress and the Fourth Bureau Session the economic-trade union work was pushed

into the background internationally as well as nationally for various reasons (increased struggle against the danger of war and Fascism, persecutions by the reaction, the Party situation in some countries, etc.), but the Fourth Bureau Session made it the duty of the Leagues, to take up more energetically the realization of the decisions of the Third Congress in this respect. The Bureau Session set the Leagues a number of practical tasks on the field of the economic-trade union struggle in connection with the formation of the shop nuclei.

The Fourth Bureau Session pointed out particularly that the offensive of capital and the pauperization of the working class youth were increasing. At the same time it put a number of concrete tasks before the Leagues.

Above all the necessity was pointed out of the combination of the work in the shop with the work in the trade union, the exact observation of all happenings in the shop and the intervention by the League in all conflicts, the practical work in the trade unions and the concentration on a number of definite demands. The perspective of the Bureau Session was correct. The offensive of capital has extended, particularly in the last month, to such a degree on an international scale, that the situation of the young proletariat is deteriorating from day to day. Yet with the exception of a few, the Young Communist Leagues have not sufficiently carried through the tasks that the Fourth Bureau Session set them on this field. Internationally, we are only in the beginning of the practical economic-trade union activity. The formation of shop nuclei, which has been taken energetically in hand on an international scale, only in the course of the last few months, has abolished one of the great deficiencies, the lack of contact with the masses of the working class youth and has created the conditions for the economic-trade union work. It has become clear in many countries that the Leagues because they were not correctly informed on the true situation of the working class youth and on account of their loose contact with the masses, were not able to lead the instinctive will to struggle of the masses of the working class youth into conscious channels, so that in several cases strikes of young workers and apprentices broke out without our League being able to intervene in any definite way in the

conflict. Our Leagues either knew nothing of these strikes or heard of them only when it was already too late and thus the strikes remained ineffective and ended with defeats from which our League could draw no advantage. Only in a few cases (particularly in France and Germany) where nuclei were in existence, have these strikes ended with a gain for our movement. The Executive Committee has discussed the problem of the youth strikes and has elaborated special directions on it.

With regard to the fact that up to the present only very few Leagues have answered the questionnaire on the economic situation of the young workers, the Executive Committee was not able to support the Leagues with concrete suggestions or with practical material on the economic-trade union struggle. The Executive Committee was limited in its work to the reports in the newspaper and to the material and short written reports of the Leagues. On the basis of this we wish to examine the work of the individual Leagues and to outline the tasks of the Leagues for the forthcoming period.

Internationally, the development of the economic-trade union work can be divided into three periods: —

- 1) The period of theoretical discussion of the problem of the economic-trade union work;
- 2) The period of purely journalistic propaganda for the general program of the Third Congress, and
- 3) The period of the propaganda for a number of special demands and the taking up of the struggle for these demands.

The first period has by now been generally passed by all the Leagues, although wrong conceptions and tendencies on various problems still exist in some individual Leagues.

Most Leagues are still in the second period, that of propaganda for the general program of demands. Some Leagues are already in a transitional stage from the second to the third period, that of propaganda for definite demands, while a few Leagues are already in the middle of the third period.

Let us now deal with the work of the individual Leagues which we can of course only sketch in a very short manner: —

The *German* League has for a long time devoted far too little attention to this question. It possessed indeed an excellent program but the practical work (particularly in the trade unions and in the trade union youth sections) was far

too small. Either there existed no fractions at all, or, if fractions existed, they did no work. The work in the trade union youth sections was particularly deficient. Our League also did not understand (as did for instance the French League) how to adapt itself to the situation. In the struggle of the adult workers the League was very awkward and not able to draw the youth into these struggles and gain from them what could have been gained. Only at the Weimar Conference did our League present demands and succeed in having them included in the general program of the demands of the opposition. It should not remain at that, however. The League must work so that the struggle for these demands is taken up.

Our *French* League is one of those Leagues which have best understood not only how to propagate and popularize the general program in connection with individual demands, but to work on every occasion to induce the trade unions to include the demands of the Young Communist Leagues into the trade union program of demands and to fight for them. The League has attained a number of successes in this respect. The Congress of the C. G. T. U. at Bourges adopted the demands of the Young Communist League. A number of other trade unions have also done this. Our League played a prominent role in the recent miners' strike and gained a great success. A special issue of the "Avantgarde", on the strike was issued in an edition of 50,000 copies. The result was, that our League won great sympathy not only among the young but also among the adult workers, and that for the first time in the history of the French trade union movement the League as such, arranged joint meetings with the trade unions. The result of this activity of the Young Communist League was the establishment of several nuclei in the mines and the creation of excellent relations of practical co-operation with the miners' union.

In the strike in the automobile industry, the strike committee set up, at the proposal of the Young Communist League, a demand for an increase of wages for the young workers of 30 per cent while only 20 per cent, were demanded for the adults. The fact alone, that the adults fought specially for the improvement of the situation of the young workers shows that our League has understood how to convince the trade unions by practical work within them, that

the young workers as a part of the whole working class must be closely bound up with the struggles of all workers. It shows us furthermore that our League has made great progress on the field of the economic-trade union struggle. The French League has understood how to base itself on the daily struggles of the adult workers and to mobilize the youth for action. Several conferences of the young workers have already taken place, and the League succeeded in bringing large masses of non-partisan young workers under its influence. These conferences were the more successful as the League, before calling the general conferences, held shop nuclei conferences of the respective district, where the problems to be dealt with at the general conferences were discussed and directions for the general conferences were worked out.

Despite the excellent work of the French League, there exists a deficiency. It represents the opinion, in contradiction to the decisions of the Young Communist International, that the establishment of youth sections in the trade unions is necessary in France. The Executive Committee has discussed this question with the League and the Congress will certainly convince the French comrades that for the carrying on of the economic work among the young workers no special youth sections in the trade unions are necessary.

In *Italy* the economic-trade union work has always been somewhat neglected. In the last few months however, a new course has been taken regarding this work. The League has proceeded to form trade union commissions and has already intervened in some actions and set up special youth demands. Further an open letter was addressed to the trade union commission; so that we can hope that the Italian League is now also about to take up its economic-trade union work seriously.

The *Checho-Slovakian* Young Communist League has already set up an economic militant program containing a number of concrete demands. The practical work, however, has been very limited up to the present, with the exception of the campaigns in the continuation schools in which the League has done good work. The actual work in the trade unions themselves however, is still very neglected. The fraction work is insufficient, above all in the red trade unions. The red trade unions have adopted the demands of the Young

Communist League, but the League has remained very passive and was not able to induce the red trade unions to take up the struggle for these demands (as was done for instance in France).

By this passivity in the practical work in the trade unions and by its deficient work among the young workers themselves, there arose the idea in the trade unions, of establishing youth sections, because the Young Communist League did not show sufficient interest in the working class youth and their enrolment in the trade unions. The League has let pass many favorable opportunities and has not understood how to utilize the advantages that the red trade unions in some parts of the country offered to it. The League will have to intensify its work considerably on this field so that the dangerous tendencies towards youth sections in the trade unions may be overcome. Despite these deficiencies, the League has in some districts taken the lead in youth strikes.

In *Austria* there still exists a great lack of clarity on the question of the economic-trade union work. Above all this shows itself in the attitude of the League to the trade unions. The League speaks of the "awkwardness" of the (reformist) trade unions where it should openly say that it means the reformist trade union bureaucracy. Further there is still the idea of the "trade union representatives" among our Austrian comrades. They have not yet given up the idea of the creation of "intermediary" organizations and still play in this or that form with this idea. They do not yet realize the significance of the shop nuclei as a means for initiating economic struggles. "First we must have fractions in the trade unions, only then can we carry on the economic struggle". But they form neither fractions nor shop nuclei, but continue to dwell on their idea of the intermediary organizations (trade union representatives as transition to the establishment of fractions and shop nuclei).

Our *Swiss* League has set up a good program but has carried on no practical work in the trade unions, with the exception of its open letter to the trade union federation. Up to the present no fractions of the League exist in the trade unions. The young workers participate actively in the economic campaigns, as for instance in the struggle against the abolition of the 48 hour week, but the League as an organization has

not presented special demands of the youth, although, there was a very favorable opportunity, particularly during the voting campaign, for instance for the propaganda of the six hour day for the young workers and of the other demands of the working class youth. Our League has presented demands to individual trade unions, and has induced them to adopt them (with reservations) but no further steps were taken in order to force the trade unions to fight for the demands.

In *Holland* where our comrades formerly affirmed that the young workers were not interested in economic problems, several spontaneous strikes of young workers took place. Our League intervened in them, but gained little from them, because the necessary contact with the shops did not exist on account of the lack of shop nuclei. The League must now set up a program of demands and carry on a systematic work in the trade unions and shops. In *Holland* also the League flirted with the idea of creating intermediary organizations, i. e. forming special economic youth groups (shop groups) for the "trade union training" of the young workers. The Executive Committee has discussed this problem with a representative of the League and rejected these shop groups. The League must carry through the trade union training of the young workers by the establishment of shop nuclei and fractions in the trade unions.

The Young Workers' League of *America* at its Second Congress set up an excellent militant economic program. It addressed an open letter to the American Federation of Labor (Gompers') on the basis of this program. Gompers answered this letter and a conference with Gompers took place, which however, had very little result. Our League has, up to the present, not understood how to popularize the demands among the masses of the young workers and many wrong conceptions still exist regarding the economic struggle. There is no clear line drawn between child labor and youth labor. The League speaks in general of the struggle against all child labor, demanding that all labor of young people up to 18 years should be abolished and be replaced by the school. The League participates in the struggles of the adult workers without issuing special slogans for the young workers and the same must be said regarding the work within the trade unions and the trade union opposition. The propaganda and

the work of the League have been too general, it has not understood how to issue slogans that resulted from the concrete situation. The League must prepare itself in the next period to fight systematically and persistently for a number of definite demands. It must draw a clear line between child labour and youth labor and must create fundamental clarity on the problem of the trade education and of the struggle against actual child labor.

Also in a tactical respect, i. e. in the problem of how work can best be carried on among the young workers and how the young workers can be won for the trade unions, the League will have to change its course. The Executive Committee has had various discussions with the League on the problem of winning the young workers for the trade unions, as well as generally on the problem of the trade union-economic struggle. The League rejects the creation of special youth sections as a means of work among the young workers, but propagates as a means for the winning of the young workers, for the establishment of a youth secretariat in the Gompers Federation of Labor. Such a youth secretariat would finally, logically lead (in the hands of Gompers) to the creation of youth sections.

Our *British* League dealt with the problem of the economic-trade union struggle at its First Congress. An open letter was addressed to the trade union congress, but it was simply ignored by the trade union bureaucracy and our League was at that time not in a position to utilize agitationally this ignoring of the interests of the young workers by the trade union bureaucracy. Only after the Second Congress of the Young Communist League of Great Britain, which elaborated a practical militant program and set up a number of demands on the basis of the decisions of the Third World Congress and of the Fourth Bureau Session, was a systematic work on the field of the economic trade union struggle started. The greatest lack in this work is the fact that no fractions have been formed. The League has but little contact with the organs of the Red International of Labor Unions in England. Only recently has the League started to create a connection with the oppositional groups in the trade union movement.

Our League is carrying through a number of campaigns in the various industries. The first campaign was organized

in the mining industry. Good demands were set up but the preparation of the campaign itself was rather deficient and the results are therefore small. Yet a beginning has been made with the systematic work.

Our League has up to the present not been able to base itself on the concrete situation and to utilize the miserable situation of certain strata of the working class youth. Just as in America, there exists wrong tactical conceptions and a wrong idea on the problem of the trade education and of the problem of apprentices in general. Also, the idea of special economic organizations (apprentice sections) exists in the heads of many comrades.

In *Scandinavia* the work was rather neglected by the National Executive Committee and the other leading bodies. As yet there is no systematic fraction work carried on. At the congresses good programs were adopted, particularly in Norway, but the practical work is still deficient. In *Sweden* it has been completely neglected. There the comrades do not yet recognize the importance of the economic-trade union work and hide themselves behind the argument that it is difficult to convince the young workers of the necessity and importance of this work because after long unemployment they are too glad to have work again, and do not want to lose it. On the problem of the unemployed the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International has issued directions repeatedly and frequently treated it in the press. As regards the danger of losing employment (on account of economic work in the shop) it is the task of the leading bodies of the League to give the necessary advice to the branches and the individual comrades on how to do this work despite boss terror and with the necessary precautions. Above all the League should have organized the work in the trade unions systematically by the establishment of fractions.

A good beginning was made by the *Norwegian* League. It addressed an open letter to the trade unions with a list of demands regarding the wages of the young workers.

In *Denmark* also our League has begun its economic-trade union work. In the press definite demands, particularly for the apprentices, are propagated.

In *Finland* the League has actively participated in the winning of the unions. There exist no special youth

fractions; the demands of the youth are discussed in the general fractions. The trade unions have adopted all the demands of the youth. On account of the difficult conditions (the League works underground and the trade unions are also under terrorist oppression) the struggle for the demands makes but slow progress.

We have only vague information on the other countries. In South America it is above all the *Argentine* Young Communist League that has taken the first practical steps on the field of the economic-trade union work. At its second congress (May 1923) the League adopted a program with a number of demands and a close contact with the red trade unions was established.

In *Canada* our League is still in the period of the purely journalistic propaganda of general slogans. An enlightenment campaign was carried through, particularly regarding unemployment.

In *South Africa* the Young Communist League has discussed the problem of the economic struggle and taken the first measures in order to carry on a systematic work on this field. An open letter was issued with a number of demands for the apprentices.

Regarding the *Baltic* countries we must mention especially the activity of the *Esthonian* League, which has understood how to utilize the trade unions as a legal form of work in an excellent manner.

The Leagues in the *Balkans* are very backward particularly with regard to the economic-trade union work. Only in recent months have they begun to occupy themselves with this question. Great differences of opinion regarding the work in the trade unions (youth sections or none), still exist, particularly in *Rumania* and *Jugoslavia*. There is no practical co-operation between the Leagues and the trade unions.

The Leagues that are not mentioned here have either not informed us on their activity or have done only very little on the field of the economic-trade union work.

The past period is characterized by an intensified pauperization of the masses of the young workers, to which our Leagues have reacted somewhat better than in the past, but still not sufficiently (with the exception of the German, French

and partly also of the Ceecho-Slovakian Leagues) in comparison with the ruthlessness of the ever growing offensive of capital. As also a further pauperization of the young workers can be expected and the offensive of capital will certainly continue, we must urge the Leagues to carry on their economic trade union work much more energetically than in the past, to double and even treble it.

The decisions of the former congresses must be put into practice. The correctness of the principles has already been proved by practice. With regard to the fact, however, that in some countries a few tactical digressions and wrong tendencies have developed the Congress must once more emphasise the correctness of the former decisions and point to our Leninist-Bolshevist principles. The work in the reformist trade unions is the highest duty of every communist. The struggle for the conquest of the reformist trade unions must be carried on with all means now as before. No flight from the trade unions, but entrance into them in order to prevent there the attempts of the Amsterdammers to split the trade unions. We must take the words of Lenin as the leit-motif for our work in the reformist trade unions: — "We must understand how to resist all this, we must be ready to make all sacrifices — and, if necessary, to use even dexterity, illegal methods, silence, concealment of the truth in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on communist work within them."

This communist work in the trade unions must be systematic and energetic. The fractions must not be only on paper, but must become well functioning bodies and the methods of their practical work must be worked out. We must establish a practical and close co-operation with the red trade unions. The struggle for a number of partial demands must be organized and carried through. The digressions of the "Left" and particularly the wrong conception that we could organize the struggle for the final aim, the dictatorship of the proletariat without fighting for partial and transitional demands, must be definitely rejected. Naturally the struggles for partial demands is not an aim in itself, but only a means to an end, i. e. to the preparation and organization of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Therefore the economic-trade union work must be transferred from a mere journalistic field to the field of practical daily work in the shops and trade unions. The coming period will be a period of struggle for a number of definite and topical partial demands.

The Other Fields of Work.



WORK was carried on in accordance with the available forces and the topical needs, upon the remaining sections of our activity.

The struggle against the opponents.

In the first part of the period under survey, the struggle against the opponents was carried on with particular energy. After our proposal for a joint struggle against the offensive of capital had been rejected by the Conference of the two social democratic Internationals of Youth in Salzburg, it was clear to the whole world, that these two organizations were striving for their amalgamation, and it was also clear that this amalgamation was first of all directed against the Young Communist International. The International Working Union of Socialist Youth Organizations which said in its program that it was striving to unite the Right and the Left wing of the socialist youth movement, openly abandoned this part of its program, which it had used for the deception of the proletarian youth and worked only for unity with the social patriotic International of Youth. In order to conceal the fact that the split of the working class youth movement had become even sharper by this amalgamation, the social democrats of both tendencies carried on in their respective countries an extensive campaign for unity, in which they naturally did not forget to say, that we were responsible for the fact that the unity was not complete. This campaign and the plan of the amalgamation induced us to continue the united front campaign of the year before with intensified energy in order thus to have the possibility of exposing the unity comedy of the social democrats as the great deception it ac-

tually was. The Leagues concerned were instructed to continue with the application of the united front tactics and to concentrate themselves mainly on the application of these tactics on a local and district scale. Apart from local slogans, the tactics should be carried on with the slogan: Not an amalgamation of the social democratic Internationals of Youth against the communists and thus a deepening of the split in the ranks of the working class youth, but a united front for the struggle against the offensive of capital and against bourgeois militarism. By this campaign we endeavored to induce the oppositional socialdemocratic youth to make the unity congress against the Young Communist International an international fighting congress against the offensive of capital etc. and thus to weaken the fight of the social democrats against us and their position in general. This campaign, where it was well carried through, often had the effect, that the National Executive Committees of the socialist youth organizations had to turn against their district committees and members and thus actually exposed the whole unity campaign as a comedy. Naturally the success could have been still greater if the work had been carried through everywhere with the necessary energy.

After this preparatory work, the Young Communist International strengthened its international united front campaign. The greatest resistance against unity was naturally in Germany and Austria among the social democrats. For this reason the Executive Committee issued special materials, for these countries as for instance the booklet "Unity Comedy or United Front" by Günther Hopffe, the leaflet "End Station Hamburg" by Willi Schlam for Austria and other materials.

In Germany the amalgamation between the social democratic youth and the Socialist Proletarian Youth took place even before the Hamburg Congress. A small group split away from the latter and still exists as a small Socialist Proletarian Youth.

The Executive Committee sent a special delegation to the international Congress in Hamburg. This delegation asked to be admitted to this congress so that it might present to it the proposal of the Young Communist International for the struggle against the offensive of capital, against the danger of war and against bourgeois militarism. As was to be

expected, the delegation was not admitted. The social democrats still nervously remembered the Vienna Conference where they were pushed into the minority by the appearance of the Communists. Voogd and Ollenhauer carried on a very dexterous policy in this matter. They did not take the responsibility for the refusal themselves but instructed a commission, which consisted mainly of centrists, to manufacture the reasons for the refusal to admit the communist delegation to the congress. In this way they hoped to give a better explanation of the refusal or at least to compromise the centrists thoroughly by it. The first they did not succeed in doing, but the second was very successful. Our delegation thereupon directed an open letter to the Congress and to the international working class youth, characterizing the shameful attitude of the social democrats as an escape from the necessary and possible fight against exploiting society, as a proof of the contact of the young social democrats with their national bourgeoisie. In this open letter the proposals of the Young Communist International to the Congress were reported.

We can say that our attitude, apart from details, was good and had a strong effect. As proofs we can mention the youth demonstration that we arranged in Hamburg and the other demonstrations in the various countries. It is true, however, that the international campaign on the occasion of the Hamburg Congress was not carried thru everywhere equally well.

Immediately after the Hamburg Congress an intensified campaign against the completed unity comedy was carried thru in the press and at meetings. The effect of this campaign was rather strong, as it even forced the social democrats to make attempts to nullify it in their international press.

Even before the Hamburg Congress we addressed ourselves internationally with a united front proposal to the two socialist Internationals of Youth for the purpose of a joint campaign against the Ruhr occupation and the danger of war in connection with our international propaganda week, which took place from 11th to 18th of March 1923. Naturally this proposal was also rejected, by the social democratic International of Youth with the argument that it based itself on the decisions of The Hague Conference and that the struggle against the

danger of war and the Ruhr occupation was no task of the working class youth, and by the centrists with the argument that they did not want to endanger the forthcoming unity comedy. This refusal favorably prepared the process of decomposition within the ranks of the social democratic youth organizations that started in the course of the following months. In the occupied territory of Germany particularly, we have drawn great advantage from this refusal.

With the Hamburg Congress the international application of the united front tactics of the past period came to an end and the center of these tactics was transferred to the Leagues. We can say that the application of the united front tactics in the following period, particularly in Germany, and partly also in Austria has contributed very much to shake the position of the socialist youth organizations.

In Germany this work was increased with the intensification of the internal and external political crisis. A number of national and district conferences of the opposition within the social democratic youth organization took place, some of which addressed a demand to the National Executive Committee of this organization to form a united front with the communists with regard to the intensified situation. The repeated rejection of this demand and the openly nationalist policy of the N. E. C. led to an unequalled process of decomposition within the organization in which great numbers of members were lost. A number of branches or parts of branches immediately joined the Young Communist League of Germany. The social democratic youth organization lost about 35 per cent of its membership, i. e. its membership decreased from over 100,000 to 70,000. But with the help of great subsidies from foreign youth organizations, they have succeeded in calling a halt to this decomposition and have been enabled to "stabilize" their movement again, it is a fact however, that the great upward development of the social democratic youth in Germany before and after the Hamburg Congress has suffered a severe reverse and has now come to an end for ever.

In Austria the social democratic youth organization had a strong opposition at its congress in autumn of last year. Naturally, in Austria the resistance against the amalgamation with the social patriots was the most violent and Heinz and his clique had great trouble in suppressing the revolt of

their membership. The congress in autumn last year was to decide upon affiliation with the newly formed Hamburg International of Youth and it was to be expected that great parts of the membership would not agree to this affiliation. We instructed our League to utilize this situation and to carry on a broad mass activity against the Hamburg International of Youth and at the same time to organize within the social democratic youth organization oppositional groups consisting of young people who were against the affiliation and would therefore be ready to join our organization. Unfortunately, on account of the objective conditions (the election campaign in Austria, in which the prospects for the communist movement were extremely unfavorable) but also on account of the insufficient activity of our League, the advantage that we drew from the rather strong decomposition in the social democratic youth organization, was very small. Our comrades did not understand how to overcome the move of the individual oppositional members of the social democratic youth organization, to join us immediately and in such circumstances the formation of active oppositional groups was inadequately carried out. The other and even worse deficiency was, that our League had not been able to develop a strong mass activity and to rouse by it a mass spirit against the affiliation to the Hamburg International. In this way the leaders of the social democratic youth organization had the possibility, by a suppression of the individual oppositional leaders on the one hand and a personal influencing of them on the other, (all the great guns of the social democratic party were used for this purposes) to destroy the whole opposition so that the congress, after some oppositional delegates to it had been previously expelled, unanimously decided to affiliate with the Hamburg International. This decision had a considerable effect on the social democratic membership, and only a few small groups afterwards joined us. The success was thus, compared with the situation and the possibilities, extremely insignificant.

This is the description of the systematic struggle against the social democratic youth organizations, and its results apart from the continuous press propaganda. Only recently

the individual Leagues again began to devote greater attention to this part of their work.

The October events in Germany again caused a discussion on the tactics of the united front. In our Leagues, also particularly in Germany, it became the subject of lively discussions. The role of social democracy as an open enemy of the working class, its development towards Facism, had become very clear in Germany through the October struggles. Further, in the German Party and in connection with this also in the German League, actually incorrect tendencies with regard to the united front tactics had developed. The Young Communist International has clearly adopted the platform of the Communist International in the discussion on the united front in Germany and has taken up the struggle for the point of view of the Communist International in all countries, as far as such a struggle proved necessary. The idea of the united front as an alliance with the social democrats, the idea of a workers' government as a stage between bourgeois government and proletarian dictatorship, is definitely rejected by the Young Communist International. It has carried on everywhere a struggle against these tendencies. The united front as a means of revolutionary mobilization and propaganda must be defended, however, and also against those who want to reject every united front on account of the dangers that it may bring about. In various letters of information to the Leagues the Young Communist International has clearly outlined this point of view. Our next world congress will have to deal with all these problems.

The struggle against the bourgeois opponents was carried on quite inadequately in the past period. This refers to the Leagues as well as to the International as a whole.

Not much better was the activity for the struggle against the fascist movement. Apart from Italy, only the Young Communist League of Germany has carried on a temporary, although insufficient activity in this respect. It formed martial organizations against the fascist attacks and it took steps to enrol the youth into the proletarian factory hundreds. However, its political and ideological struggle against the fascists was quite insufficient. The organization of a martial service was also undertaken in Austria.

Apart from that, nowhere has any systematic activity been carried on. The congress will have to deal in detail with these problems.

The work in the country.

Insufficient help on the part of the National Executive Committees was a very great handicap for the work in the department of the rural youth. All questions and requests that were addressed to the National Executive Committees remained unanswered and they maintained their former indifferent attitude to the work among the rural youth. From no country is good and complete material on the situation of the rural youth available. Only very few Leagues (Finland, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Italy, Norway and Russia) have forwarded to the Executive Committee materials on the situation of the rural workers and peasant youth in their country. The Executive Committee has therefore succeeded only after very great difficulties and by special measures, in obtaining material on the most important agrarian countries, and this does not contain actual figures on the youth.

Only after the Fourth Bureau Session was it possible to strengthen this work somewhat. At this time some Leagues had already taken up the work on this field by establishing national departments for it. The German League in December of last year included special demands for the rural youth in its economic program. On the occasion of its congress in February of this year the Norwegian League paid special attention to the work among the young rural workers, small peasant and fishing youth and set up special demands for the rural workers and small peasant youth in accordance with the program of action adopted by the last Bureau Session. Further the Checho-Slovakian and the Jugoslavian Leagues treated the problem of the rural youth at their national congresses and passed special decisions on it.

The Executive Committee participated in the third international conference of the revolutionary rural and forest workers and in the international peasant conference which took place in autumn of last year in Moscow. At the conference of the rural and forest workers all the demands of the Fourth Bureau Session for the rural youth were adopted and form now a special part of the international program of

action of the rural and forest workers. The co-operation with the international peasants' council was established.

The practical leadership of the work of the individual Leagues on this field could not up to the present be carried on, on account of the neglect of the Leagues. Nevertheless the Executive Committee has elaborated and dispatched specially detailed directions in the form of a circular for the educational work of the Young Communist Leagues in the country.

In future the work in the country must receive greater attention than in the past. For this it is above all necessary that the Leagues overcome their passivity on this field and assist the Executive Committee in creating the preliminary conditions for the beginning of this work.

The illegal work of the Leagues.

The illegal work of the Leagues has received the regular attention of the Executive Committee since the Third Congress. After the first conference of the illegal Leagues which took place together with the Third World Congress and which determined the basis for the preparation and realization of illegal activity for all Leagues, also for those which are still working legally, the Executive Committee formed a special department for this work. This activity can naturally only be described here in a very general manner. It consisted mainly in giving the Leagues, by circulars and by delegates, concrete instructions for the preparation for a possible illegal period and for certain fields of work which must always be treated illegally. Besides, instructions on connection, on illegal mass work, etc. were given. A second important task was, to start an enlightenment work by printed material on the illegal work. A number of articles on this subject were published and recently a special booklet on "The Fundamental Problems of the Illegal Work" was issued. The Balkan Conference, which took place in the beginning of this year in Vienna, paid great attention to the illegal work of the Leagues in the Balkans.

At present the Executive Committee is occupied with the preparations for the second conference for illegal work. On the basis of the experiences, that have been gained in the great German League during a definite illegal period, and further the experiences of the many other illegal Leagues,

the second conference for illegal work will lay down extremely valuable directions for the future period. The past period has shown that with some attention and care, good results can be obtained on this field and that despite most furious reaction all our Leagues have continued to work even in the most serious times. The new period will find us armed with new experiences. The problem of the mass organization in the countries of white terror will then no more be insoluble.

The work in the Oriental and Colonial countries.

The work in the Oriental and Colonial countries in the past period can be considered as satisfactory. The Executive Committee devoted to all problems of the work in the Oriental countries the most careful attention. Only some months ago it sent a special delegate to China and Corea who examined the situation there.

The young Communist League of *China* has carried through the Third Congress of the Young Communist International and transformed itself into a centralized organization. It has furthermore begun to gain a foothold among the young workers and to strengthen its general activity among them. Although a considerable number of new branches were formed, the League has not succeeded in increasing its membership. The causes for this were the strong attacks of reaction and the general suppression of the labor organization during the last year. However, the membership of the League were educated to become better fighters. In various industrial districts labor schools were created. The greatest among them is in the Pinshin Mine, which is visited by 800 young workers.

The League issues a monthly organ for the young workers entitled "The Young Worker".

The League has furthermore succeeded in organizing two peasants' leagues with about 30,000 members each.

The students' movement has been won for participation in the national-revolutionary movement and for the support of the labor movement. The majority of the Central Bureau of the students' movement is formed by our comrades. A weekly, "The Chinese Youth", which is issued for the students, has great sale among them.

The activity of the League is characterized by its participation in various great strikes and by the organization of various anti-imperialist and anti-militarist campaigns. The organizations of the Chinese Nationalist Party, which is to-day a party that sympathizes with communism, is also due to its initiative. To-day the League already plays a decisive role in the national revolutionary movement of China. The building up of a mass organization of the Chinese young proletariat and of the Chinese peasant youth is about to be realised.

Our League in *Corea* has now gained a firm foothold in the heart of Corea itself. In September of last year for the first time in this country the International Day of Youth was celebrated in Ceul. For the first time open demonstrations and meetings organized by the Leagues took place, which in consideration of the furious persecutions of all communists by the Japanese government, is a proof that our comrades have already a considerable influence in Corea. By the work within the national youth organizations the League has succeeded in winning over a number of revolutionists who have split away from the national revolutionary organization in order to form an uncompromising anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist youth organization. The congress of this organization took place in April. Our League will now call its own congress in order to consolidate its forces for a further advance.

In *Japan* immediately after the Third Congress our comrades formed a Young Communist League. This League developed immediately a great anti-militarist work and it occasionally succeeded in utilizing the campaigns, that the bourgeoisie organized for the strengthening of Japanese militarism, for great anti-militarist manifestations. This and the fact, that our League gained an ever growing influence among the young workers and peasants of Japan, has induced the Japanese government to develop the most brutal terror against it. This terror which started immediately after the earthquake in September of last year continues to-day. Numerous League officials, among them several members of the National Executive Committee, were murdered. In this manner the League was unable to work legally. Despite the illegality the League is still exercising a considerable

influence. At present it is striving to gather its dispersed forces and to find legal possibilities of work.

The *Mongolian* League improved its activity and its political and social position in the country continuously. It has succeeded in doubling its number of members. It now possesses about 3,000 members. It carries on regularly an extensive cultural and political propanganda throughout the country.

In *Turkey* we have two Young Communist Leagues, one of which is working in Smyrna and the other in Anatolia. The Executive Committee is endeavoring to amalgamate these two Leagues into one uniform organization. As a consequence of the interruption of the connections for several months, the Executive Committee could not support the League as would have been desirable. At present new possibilities are established. The activity of the League begins already to approach the non-partisan workers and peasant youth.

In *Africa* the Young Communist International possesses a good section, the Young Communist League of South Africa, which is working very well. Our comrades there have understood how to base their work on the political events and the topical needs of the youth and have in this way considerably extended their influence. They have already begun to extend this influence to the negro youth. To-day the League has only white members, but it has already created the basis for the admission of negroes into the organization.

The French League began to work among the African natives in Algiers. The propaganda among the African soldiers, that was started at the beginning of the Ruhr occupation (we have already succeeded in issuing literature in the Moroccan language) has considerably improved the possibilities for a broader beginning of this work in the African colonies. The connections are established through the returning soldiers, so that we will have better conditions for this work in the future.

The work for the future period is clear. After the conquest of Asia by the Young Communist International, we must endeavor to conquer the African natives. We must furthermore under all circumstances establish a strong Young Communist League in British India.

A further problem which has arisen from the experiences

of the last period, is that of the transformation of the existing organizations in the Orient into mass organizations of the working class and peasant youth. The Fourth Congress must devote the greatest attention to these problems as well as to the whole work in the Orient and the Colonies.

The work amongst the children.

The center of the work among the children lay in the strengthening of the children's movement in those countries where Communist Children's Groups were already in existence, (Germany, France, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Finland, etc.) With the exception of the French and the Jugoslavian children's movement, the connections with the Executive Committee were good, and the Executive Committee was able to lead the movements in the various countries from case to case. Detailed directions were elaborated for every League on the basis of the concrete problems, so that it was always possible to have a correct influence on the work. Special organizational instructions were given to the French, the German and the American children's groups (the latter were formed only in May 1923). In France the main attention was directed to the establishment of a uniform leadership of the Young Communist League over all children's groups which were still under the leadership of various organizations. In Germany the children's movement was prohibited together with the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. The Executive Committee gave concrete instructions to the German children's groups so that they could continue their work despite the illegality. In America the children's groups (Junior Section of the Young Workers League) were in the beginning incorrectly organized. The League had created two different organizations for two different ages. This was improved according to the instructions of the Executive Committee and to-day our American children's groups are working both educationally and political very well. In Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden) the Executive Committee paid special attention to the wrong conception of the adults (uncle psychology and the insufficient militant activity and independent initiative of the children). Under the leadership of the Executive Committee the Norwegian children's groups in particular succeeded in strengthening their work consider-

ably. After the split by the followers of Tranmael, our groups developed a very good work.

The political activity of the children's groups has improved in most countries. The German children's groups were adapted to the revolutionary conditions of the country even before the November events. The central committee of the children's groups prepared the older children systematically for the active assistance in the proletarian revolution, organizationally as well as politically. For this purpose special pioneer groups of children between 12 and 14 years were formed. An energetic struggle was carried on by the German children's groups during this period in the school. More than usual attention was paid to the participation of the children in the struggles of the working classes and to the struggle against child labor.

Also the very young American children's groups have developed an excellent political work. They carry on an energetic school struggle and struggle against the brutal child labor in America. A good example for the children's groups of other countries was given by the fight of the American children's groups on the occasion of the November events in Germany against a possible intervention by the American bourgeoisie against a German revolution. The American children's groups have furthermore succeeded in getting the Workers Sunday Schools in Chicago under their leadership. At present the amalgamation of these Schools with the Junior Section is being prepared. The National Executive Committee of the Young Workers' League of America issued a special bulletin for the leaders of the children's groups.

The children's groups in Great Britain, Finland and Norway have actively taken part in the struggles of the communist movement in their countries.

The organs of the children's groups have considerably improved in the past period. In a number of countries (America, Finland, Norway) the children are already themselves participating in the editing of their magazines. In this respect the Finnish children's paper was particularly good, and it has now been suppressed by the white dictatorship. The Swedish children's paper has the greatest number of deficiencies although recently it has improved somewhat.

A deficiency of the whole children's movement is still the fact that the active young comrades pay too little attention to this important problem. The same must also be said of the Party comrades.

For the next period the main task on this field in all countries will be to strengthen the political activity of the Communist Children's Groups, to form everywhere school nuclei, and to transform the children's organ more and more into mass organs of the working class children. The children's groups themselves must be freed from their Sunday school character, that partly still exists and must be transformed into mass and fighting organizations of all proletarian children.

Sports.

The work on the field of sports limited itself mainly to participation in the leadership of the Red Sport International. In a number of Leagues the problem of the working of the sport organizations was thoroughly discussed and directions worked out. This showed the growing importance of this work. We must nevertheless say, that the individual Leagues have still paid too little attention to this activity. A special deficiency is, that the decision of the Fourth Bureau Session, to carry through a discussion in the Leagues on the problem of the cultural organizations, has not been carried through. The Executive Committee has tried to start this discussion by some articles in the "International of Youth". The Leagues, however, have not reacted to this, so that this problem will again be discussed at this congress without sufficient preparation.

The publishing activity.

The publishing activity has passed through a great development during the period under survey and has been considerable extended. On the one hand it supported the whole activity of the Young Communist International on all fields and on the other hand the basis was laid for the publishing activity to gradually contribute to the financing of the activity of the Young Communist International. With regard to the latter, only a small beginning has been made, while the first mentioned task was interrupted by the prohibition

of the Publishing House in the autumn of last year, and the publication of booklets in several languages held up for a long period. The activity of the Publishing House consisted of the following: Magazines, political work, entertaining literature, propaganda material. The magazines appearing in the German language now as before "The International of Youth", the "Correspondence of the Young International", "The Proletarian Child", "The Young Comrade" and some illustrated papers, and in the English language "The International of Youth", the "Y. C. I. Review", "The Bulletin for the Leaders of Children's Groups" and in the French language the "Correspondence of the Young International", and "The Proletarian Child", in the Scandinavian language "The Proletarian Child" and "The International of Youth" and in the Russian language the "International of Youth". It was furthermore possible to issue a first number of "The International of Youth" in the Chinese language, which will from now on be issued regularly. The total editions of the periodicals in the German language were 427,000, in the English language 43,200, in the French language 14,000. These figures are for the year 1923. We have for the moment no figures for the Russian and Scandinavian edition. The editions of the irregular illustrated papers were 67,000, those of the political and agitation booklets in the German language 63,280, that of the entertainment literature (German) 40,000, for educational literature (German) 25,000. Furthermore there appeared in the German language 1,600,000 posters and leaflets (mainly for the Ruhr struggle). The edition of the English publications for all literature with the exception of the periodicals, is for 1923, 28,000, of the French publications 7,000. Furthermore a few booklets were issued in the Czech, Swedish, Russian and Norwegian languages, of which the exact figures are for the moment not available.

The activity of the Publishing House was, as already mentioned above, seriously interrupted by the illegal period in Germany. The moving of the publishing house to another country took some time and the financial conditions for this were difficult to create, particularly as the Leagues have hardly supported the Executive Committee in this respect. The financial situation of our Publishing House was for a long time very bad, caused by the fact that individual Leagues

owed great amounts to it. At present we can say that the Publishing activity is again in order and that the conditions are created for the punctual and regular publication of the most important literature in all languages. The great plans for the publication of educational, anti-militarist and organizational literature, although they have been set up for a time could not be carried out, on the one hand for lack of suitable co-operators (the members of the Executive Committee itself were completely occupied with political and organizational work) and for lack of means, and on the other hand the above mentioned illegal period in Germany delayed the printing of already prepared booklets.

The next important tasks on the field of the publishing activity are the publication of good material for the educational work of the Leagues, and for their anti-militarist work, for the daily propaganda, for the organizational work, and moreover the creation of good proletarian youth literature and the extension of the distribution of our international magazines. The distribution is very irregular. This can be seen from the German editions and even more from the editions in other languages. For instance our literature is distributed very little in the Romance countries, although it is there more necessary than anywhere else. Also in the German speaking countries the distribution is partly unsatisfactory. Apart from Germany, where the sale is comparatively good and has the necessary organizational basis, we find only in very few countries a well organized distribution. Thus it happens that for instance, comparatively small Leagues as the Austrian and the Swiss Leagues sell 600 copies each of the "International of Youth" while the much larger Checho-Slovakian League orders only 200 copies of each issue of the "International of Youth". When we consider the figures of the distribution of the other publications, we get many similar pictures.

Apart from the improvement of the publishing activity and its extension to all important languages in the International, we have the important task of improving the organization of the distribution of our literature and the improvement in the payment of accounts by the Leagues.

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2. Report of Guild of Youth Confer. 1926
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4. Resolutions of E.E.C.YCI. 1925
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9. The Case for the YCL W Rust. about 1927
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11. Young Miner Awake. Pitt Lad
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15. League Training Syllabus. 1925
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17. The Chartist Youth Programme. A Massie.
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